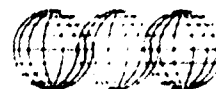


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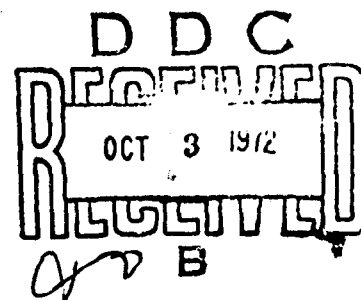


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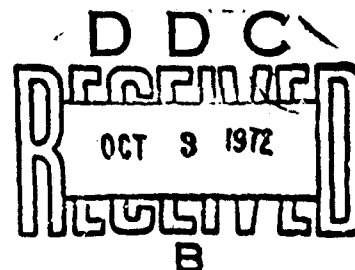
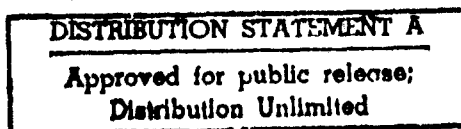
**PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE
FOR
MILITARY CORRECTIONAL PERSONNEL**

- VOLUME I: STAFF -



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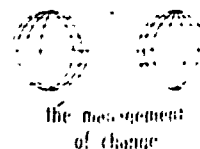
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MILITARY CORRECTIONAL PERSONNEL

- VOLUME I: STAFF -

COURSE S - MILITARY CORRECTIONS STAFF

COURSE A - MILITARY CORRECTIONS ADMINISTRATORS

On behalf of the United States Marine Corps

Under contract with

THE OFFICE OF NAVAL RESEARCH
ORGANIZATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS RESEARCH PROGRAMS

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

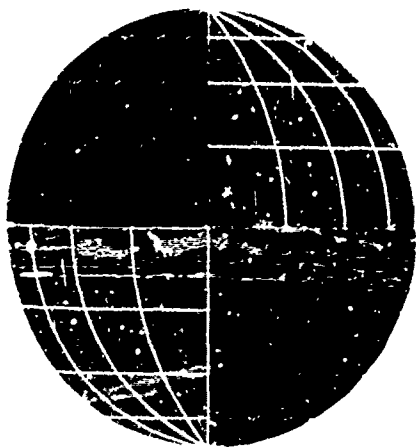
STAFF

<u>TAB</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>CODE</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
	INTRODUCTION		
	- Consultant Directory		iii - iv
	- Schedule		v
	- Objectives		vi
	- Staff Biographical Backgrounds		vii - ix
I	DYNAMICS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR AND PRISON LIFE		
	- Criminal Justice Motivation Inventory	RI#3CJ-C	1 - 2
	- The Motivation of Human Resources in Criminal Justice Systems	RP#3CJ	1 - 11
	- Bibliography	RB#3CJ-B	1 - 2
	- The Yonan Codex Story		1 - 3
II	UNDERSTANDING DEVIANT BEHAVIOR AMONG CONFINEEES		
	- Healthy Personality	PA#13CJ	1
	- Analysis of Deviant Behavior	RP#7CJ	1 - 5
	- Critical Incidents in Corrections	RI#7CJ-C	1 - 2
III	IMPROVING CORRECTIONAL COMMUNICATION		
	- Communications Inventory	RI#1CJ-A	1 - 3
	- Criminal Justice Communication as a People Process	RP#1CJ	1 - 11
	- Bibliography	RB#1CJ-B	1 - 2
	- Maintenance Behavior	PA#5	1
	- Task Behavior	PA#6	1
IV	OVERCOMING COMMUNICATION OBSTACLES		
	- Communication	PA#14CJ	1 - 17
	- Perception Exercise	PA#44	1
	- Stick Exercise	PA#45	1
V	CREATIVE APPROACHES TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION		
	- Sources of Conflict for Military Correctional Staff	PA#15CJ	1 - 4
	- The Impact of Emotionality Problem Solving	PA#16CJ	1 - 4
	- Conflict/Energy Utilization Model	RP#3CJ-C	1
	- Improvement of Prisoner/Staff Relations	PA#17CJ	1 - 2

TABLE OF CONTENTS

STAFF

<u>TAB</u>	<u>TOPIC</u>	<u>CODE</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
VI	INSIGHTS FROM INMATE FEEDBACK		
	- Confinee Personality Profile	PA#18CJ	1
	- Confinee Personality Profile Comparison	PA#19CJ	1 - 4
	- Selected Comments from Confinee Interviews	PA#20CJ	1 - 3
VII	CULTURAL INFLUENCE ON PRISONER/STAFF BEHAVIOR		
	- Corrections and the Concept of Culture	RP#8CJ	1 - 7
VIII	CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON DECISION MAKING		
	- Cultural Behavior Analysis	RI#8CJ-C	1 - 3
	- Moon XX		1
IX	UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAVIOR AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR PRISON LIFE		
	- Group Maturity Analysis	PA#9	1
	- Behavior Characteristics in Correctional Groups	RP#5CJ	1 - 5
	- Kerner Commission Findings--Ranking Task	PA#21CJ	1 - 4
X	INTERPERSONAL SKILLS FOR CORRECTIONAL PERSONNEL		
	- Individual Behavior Analysis	PA#7	1 - 3
	- On the Characteristics of Total Institutions	PA#22CJ	1 - 3
	- Invisible Forces, Johari Windows, and Congruence	PA#12	1 - 4
	- Cycle of Trust		1
	- Dyadic Encounter	PA#23CJ	1 - 6
XI	CHANGING ROLE OF CORRECTIONAL PERSONNEL		
	- Characteristics of Four Correctional Models	PA#24CJ	1
	- The Shame of the Prisons	PA#25CJ	1 - 7
	- How Other Nations Handle Prisoners	PA#26CJ	1 - 4
XII	BEHAVIORAL STRATEGIES WITH MILITARY PRISONERS		
	- Training Cases	PA#27CJ	1 - 3
	- Humanizing the U. S. Military	PA#28CJ	16 - 20
	- Concepts of Treatment in Probation and Parole Supervision	PA#29CJ	1 - 8
	- Prisoners: A New Challenge	PA#30CJ	1 - 2
	- Prisons: The Way to Reform	PA#31CJ	30 - 31
	- Bibliography	PA#32CJ	1



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PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTES
FOR MILITARY CORRECTIONAL PERSONNEL

CAMP LEJEUNE, NORTH CAROLINA - April 17-29, 1972:
Course S 3 - Staff - Twelve Learning Modules
Course A 5 - Administrators - Eleven Learning Modules

CAMP PENDLETON, CALIFORNIA - May 8-20, 1972:
Course S 4 - Staff - Twelve Learning Modules
Course A 6 - Administrators - Eleven Learning Modules

An Action Research Project for Planned Change in the Military Justice System

CONSULTANTS:

Dr. Philip R. Harris, Project Director - President, Management and Organization Development, Inc., La Jolla, Ca. (714/453-2140 or 7321)
Dr. Lawrence N. Solomon, Research Director - Psychologist, Private Practice, Formerly, U. S. International University, San Diego, Ca.

OTHER TRAINERS:

Dr. Stuart H. Gilbreath, Associate Professor, School of Public Administration, San Diego, California.
Mr. Gordon H. Mack, Chairman Field Services and Leadership Development, Bank Street College of Education, New York, N. Y.
Dr. Charles L. Newman, Professor and Head, Law Enforcement and Corrections Services, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.
Mr. Robert J. Scanlon, President, Scanlon and Associates, San Diego, California.

OTHER TRAINERS:

Dr. Woodrow H. Sears, Jr., Vice President, Leadership Resource, Inc.;
Private Practice, Washington, D. C.
Dr. Maneck S. Wadia, Anthropologist, Private Practice; Former Professor,
U. S. International University, San Diego, California.

OTHER SPECIALISTS:

Dr. Dorothy L. Harris, Research Consultant - Dean, School of Communications,
U. S. International University, San Diego, California.
Mr. William M. Lipkeman, Audio-visual Consultant - District Librarian,
Carlsbad Unified School District, Carlsbad, California.

ONR COORDINATORS:

Dr. William Gaymon, Program Manager.
Dr. Bert King, Associate Director, Organization Effectiveness Research Programs.

MILITARY COORDINATORS:

Lt. Col. Archie Van Winkle, U.S.M.C., Director, Securities and Law Enforcement
Branch, Hdq. Marine Corps, Washington, D. C.
Capt. David T. Penman, U.S.M.C., Aide-de-Camp, Securities and Law Enforcement
Branch, Hdq. Marine Corps, Washington, D. C.

LOCAL:

Capt. Thomas Prendergast, U.S.M.C, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina.
Lt. Col. Robert E. Finney, U.S.M.C., Camp Pendleton, California.

.....

Workbook Editor: Elsie R. Schneider, Secretary, MOD, Inc., La Jolla, California.

Post-session Research Instruments and Closing Graduation Ceremonies--
Saturday (4/29 or 5/20/72) from 1:00 to 3:00 P.M.

1972 - TRAINING SCHEDULE
STAFF SESSIONS

ONR II/NO0014-72-C-0165
U.S.M.C.

Course # for	First Week A.M. Learning Module: → I	Monday	Tuesday II	Wednesday III	Thursday IV	Friday V	Saturday VI
STAFF	8:00 A.M. to 12:00 Noon	DYNAMICS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR & PRISONER LIFE Dr. L. Solomon Dr. P. Harris	UNDERSTANDING DEVIANT BEHAVIOR Dr. L. Solomon Dr. P. Harris	IMPROVING CORRECTIONAL COMMUNICATIONS Dr. P. R. Harris Mr. R. J. Scanlon	OVERCOMING COMMUNICATIONS OBSTACLES Dr. P. R. Harris Mr. R. J. Scanlon	CREATIVE APPROACHES TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION Dr. W. H. Sears, Jr. Dr. P. H. Harris	INSIGHTS FROM INMATE FEEDBACK Dr. W. H. Sears, Jr. Dr. P. H. Harris
S 3	Camp Lejeune, North Carolina	4/17	4/18	4/19	4/20	4/21	4/22
S 4	Camp Pendleton, California	5/8	5/9	5/10	5/11	5/12	5/13
	Second Week A.M. Learning Module: → VII		VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
STAFF	8:00 A.M. to 12:00 Noon	CULTURAL INFL. ON PRISONER/STAFF BEHAV. Dr. W. Sears, Jr. (Dr. M. Wadia) Dr. P. Harris	CULTURAL INFL. ON DECISION MAKING Dr. W. Sears, Jr. (Dr. M. Wadia) Dr. P. Harris	UNDERSTANDING GROUP BEHAV. & ITS IMPL. FOR PRISONER LIFE Mr. G. H. Mack (Dr. S. Gilbreath) Dr. P. Harris	INTERPERSONAL SKILLS FOR COR. PERSONNEL Mr. G. H. Mack (Dr. S. Gilbreath) Dr. P. Harris	CHANGING ROLE OF CORRECTIONAL PERS. Dr. C. L. Newman Dr. P. R. Harris	BEHAV. STRATEGIES WITH MILITARY PRISONERS Dr. C. L. Newman Dr. P. R. Harris
S 3	Camp Lejeune, North Carolina	4/24	4/25	4/26	4/27	4/28	4/29
S 4	Camp Pendleton, California	5/15	5/16	5/17	5/18	5/19	5/20

OBJECTIVES

This Professional Development Institute for Correctional Personnel is an experimental program in a continuing research effort to develop two training models for use in the military prison system with staff and administration.

The specific objectives of The Institute are:

1. To improve correctional personnel's understanding of human behavior; especially, how to cope effectively with deviant and abnormal behavior.
2. To increase skills in communication and human relations of the military in U. S. Navy and Marine correctional facilities/centers.
3. To foster more creative attitudes and programming in such facilities so as to contribute to prisoner rehabilitation and return to duty.
4. To develop staff insights into the dynamics of human groups, especially in custodial care, so that the Navy and Marine personnel may operate more effectively in this assignment.
5. To study ways of decreasing tension between the correctional staff and the inmates of their institutions.
6. To enhance staff capability for problem solving relative to military prisoner relationships.
7. To review new insights from the social sciences related to care and custody of prisoners.
8. To assist military correctional personnel in exploring their changing professional role.
9. To promote planned change in the military criminal justice system through human resource development.
10. To encourage new approaches which humanize the treatment of the confinees.

BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUNDS

Training Staff

Members of the Resource Network of MOD, Inc.

"PHIL"

PROJECT DIRECTOR: Philip R. Harris is a management psychologist who now serves as President of Management & Organization Development, Inc., La Jolla, California. Previously, Dr. Harris was Vice President of Copley International Corporation and a Senior Associate of Leadership Resources, Inc. He has been an administrator and professor in numerous educational institutions; most recently, Temple University and The Pennsylvania State University. He received his Ph.D. from Forham University, and was awarded a State Department grant to India as a Fulbright Professor in 1962. In addition to consulting assignments with a variety of corporate, educational, military and government systems, he has been involved with numerous training sessions for criminal justice organizations. These range from the police departments of the District of Columbia and Philadelphia, to the Maryland Department of Juvenile Services and the Honor Camps of San Diego County. Author of many books and articles, his research includes a project for the Bureau of Mental Health, Department of H.E.W.

"STU"

OTHER CONSULTANTS: Stuart H. Gilbreath is Associate Professor of Psychology in the School of Public Administration at San Diego State College. As with many on this training staff, Dr. Gilbreath is quite active in the programs of the NTL Institute of Applied Behavioral Science and coordinates its activities in this region. He has his Ph.D. from Michigan State University where he also served in the Counseling Center before his appointment to the graduate faculty of the University of Cincinnati. He has conducted numerous human relations training laboratories for groups throughout the country, in addition to publishing and research.

"MACK"

Gordon H. Mack is Chairman of Field Services and Leadership Development for the Bank Street College of Education in New York City, as well as a Senior Associate of Leadership Resources, Inc. Formerly, Mr. Mack served as Director of Recruitment and Manpower Planning for the National Board of the Y.M.C.A. He has held a series of administrative posts, supervising field and youth workers in various social service organizations. He has had wide experience as a training consultant for police, youth and minority groups. He received his B.A. from Southern University in Louisiana and his M.A. from New York University in guidance and personnel administration. He also served as a 1st Lieutenant in the U. S. Army.

"CHARLIE"

Charles L. Newman is Head, Center for Law Enforcement and Corrections Services, The Pennsylvania State University, and serves on the U. S. Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training. Dr. Newman is President of the American Society of Criminology and conducted many workshops in the criminal justice field. In addition to directing corrections training at the University of Louisville and Florida State University, he has been a corrections consultant for numerous public agencies. He has his Ph.D. from New York University, and studied law at the University of North Dakota. Professor Newman is the author of numerous books and articles in the field of criminal justice.

"BOB"

Robert J. Scanlon is a management engineer who serves as President of Scanlon and Associates in San Diego, California. Formerly the President of MOD, Inc. and Manager of the Government Education Division, Computing & Software, Inc., he has been involved in numerous manpower development programs for minorities, as well as management training. He has been a manager with such large corporations as Whittaker, General Precision, Westinghouse Electric and Duquesne Light Co. In addition to an engineering degree from Carnegie Institute of Technology, he holds a Master's in industrial management from Duquesne University and has studied law. A Major in the Air Force, he has recently been involved in training superintendents for Honor Camps, as well as for many U. S. Navy agencies.

"WOODY"

Woodrow H. Sears, Jr. is a management consultant in Washington, D.C.. He has served as Vice President of Leadership Resources, Inc., and Program Specialist for the United States Department of Agriculture Graduate School. A former police reporter, he has been directing human relations training for the Washington, D. C. Police Department. He received his Ed.D. in adult education from George Washington University, and attained the rank of Captain in the Marine Corps. He has a wide variety of training experience, particularly with government agencies.

"LARRY"

Lawrence N. Solomon is a consulting psychologist who has held a variety of administrative and research positions at U. S. International University. He has been a Research Psychologist for the U. S. Navy Electronics Laboratory, Army Medical Research Laboratory and Western Behavioral Sciences Institute. He received his Ph.D. from the University of Illinois, and is active as an NTL trainer. He serves in San Diego on the Mayor's Social Science Advisory Committee, and the Community Affairs Task Force of the California Council on Criminal Justice. At present, he is coordinator for student affairs at the California School of Professional Psychology in San Diego.

"MANECK"

Maneck S. Wadia is a management consultant and anthropologist who specializes in cross-cultural training. Formerly, a Professor at Cal Western, U.S.I.U., he has been a Ford Foundation Fellow and participated in many of their workshops. He has his Ph.D. from Indiana University, and is the author of numerous books and publications. He lectures frequently to government agencies, particularly the Army, Navy, and Civil Service Executive Center.

VOLUME I - STAFF COURSE

LEARNING MODULE I

DYNAMICS
OF
HUMAN
BEHAVIOR
AND PRISON LIFE

CRIMINAL JUSTICE MOTIVATION INVENTORY

A. Please place an X next to the five items below which you believe are most important in motivating you to do better work as a professional in the criminal justice field:

- | | | |
|-------|---|-------|
| (P/S) | 1. Assurance of regular employment | _____ |
| | 2. Satisfactory physical working conditions | _____ |
| | 3. Suitable rest periods and coffee breaks | _____ |
| | 4. Adequate vacation arrangements and holidays | _____ |
| | 5. Good pay | _____ |
| | 6. Having an efficient supervisor who tells me exactly what's expected | _____ |
| (S) | 7. Agreement with organizational objectives | _____ |
| | 8. A good performance rating so I know where I stand | _____ |
| | 9. Pensions and other fringe benefits (insurance, et al) | _____ |
| | 10. A written job description which I try to fulfill | _____ |
| | 11. The avoidance of disciplining for doing an inadequate job | _____ |
| | 12. Maintenance of adequate living standards for my family | _____ |
| | 13. Means for promotion and advancement | _____ |
| | 14. Means for knowing what is going on in the organization (inclusion) | _____ |
| | 15. Being told by my boss that I am doing a good job | _____ |
| (B) | 16. Getting along with others on the job by being cooperative | _____ |
| | 17. Participation in administrative activities (e.g., attending staff meetings) | _____ |
| | 18. Receiving appreciation for my good work | _____ |
| | 19. Being kept informed on what's happening in the organization | _____ |
| | 20. The support received from fellow workers in a work unit | _____ |
| | 21. Feeling my job is important | _____ |
| (E) | 22. Respect of me as a person and/or a professional at my job | _____ |
| | 23. Chance to turn out quality work | _____ |
| | 24. Opportunity to gain status in the organization | _____ |
| | 25. Means of achieving and proving myself | _____ |
| | 26. Obtaining more freedom and independence on my job | _____ |
| (A) | 27. Opportunity to do challenging and meaningful work | _____ |
| | 28. Chance for self development and improvement | _____ |
| | 29. Opportunity to experience sense of achievement and accomplishment | _____ |
| | 30. Opportunity for human service and to contribute to society | _____ |
| | 31. Others: _____ | _____ |

- B. For the second step, place a check now next to five other items which you consider to be of secondary importance in motivating you to do better work.
- C. Kindly take a piece of blank paper from your notebook and write down the numbers of your primary motivations (those marked X in A).
- D. While you are waiting for the others to finish and for the above papers to be collected, you may wish to turn to RP#3CJ in your resource book and review Figure 1 on the Hierarchy of Human Needs.
- E. As a follow-up to the use of this instrument, you may wish to reproduce it and try it out with your co-workers or family. (The inventory would have to be revised for use with prisoners or parolees.)

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
INSTITUTE FOR CORRECTIONAL JUSTICE
PERSONNEL

RESOURCE PAPER #3 C]

1971

THE MOTIVATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES
IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEMS
by Dr. Philip R. Harris

INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the central issue in criminal justice work is the question of human motivation. The very structure of an organization, the principles of management practice and strategies, direction and control of personnel and prisoners depend upon the staff's understanding of human nature and behavior. Behind every leadership decision lie important, implicit assumptions about human behavior which affect the organizational climate and the mobilization of its people talent for creative and productive action.

If a correctional facility is to operate effectively, then the work environment must be such as to encourage staff innovation, sustained effort, and cooperation to meet common goals. Management philosophy, style, and procedures in justice systems should incorporate the best contemporary knowledge regarding what motivates people to higher levels of achievement, productivity, adaptation and inventiveness. This may be particularly true in this era of rapid and expansive change. Those organizations possessing the capacity to motivate and develop their human potential to the greatest advantage will be those most responsive to internal planned change, and most successful in adapting to and dealing with the emerging needs of man.

Those who are incarcerated for breaking military or civilian laws are still human beings, even guilty of delinquent deviant behavior. Although their present motivation and value system may possibly be distorted, the "normal" prisoner (not suffering psychiatric handicaps) can motivate himself in positive ways just like the average man who has committed no punishable offense. The atmosphere created in a penal institution, for example, can create an environment that encourages self motivation in either a constructive or destructive way.

Thus, the commander or administrator, the supervisors or unit wardens, who concentrate on correctional staff needs and on improving the institutional work environment will find that their subordinates model such behavior. Based on the attitudes of top leaders, the guards and counselors will act accordingly with inmates. The way staff is motivated will likely be the way prisoners are or are not motivated by staff.

A MODERN THEORY OF MOTIVATION

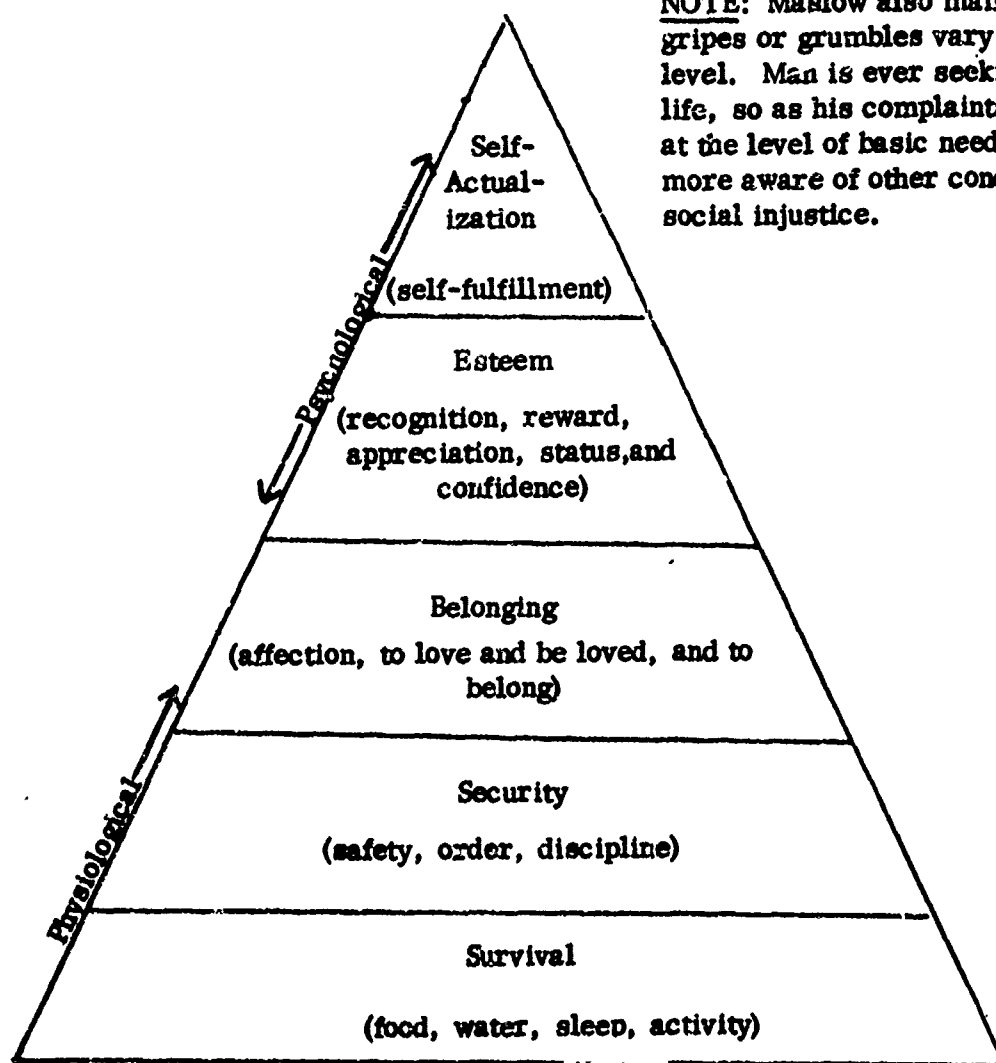
There are many theories regarding what motivates human behavior. Obviously, some human actions are consciously performed and others are carried on without the individual being aware of the reasons behind his activities. Some actions become so habitual that people are often unaware of their motives for performance. One school of psychological thought is "operant conditioning" which holds that people can be trained by a reward/punishment system to perform in a certain way. This approach has actually been tested successfully with military and in the rehabilitation of prisoners. Such individuals have literally been "conditioned" to the desired performance. However, in this paper, we will emphasize the approach of the humanistic school of psychology. These observations on motivation should first be applied to the correctional staff itself. Then, these comments should be viewed with reference to the prisoner or parolee.

Although there are some differences in point of view, this new approach to motivation basically follow the theories of Dr. Abraham Maslow (see Motivation and Personality, 1954). The foundation of Maslow's motivation theory is that man is an integrated whole being who strives, not only to meet whatever deficiency arises, but who also strives for physical, intellectual, emotional and spiritual growth or self-actualization. In other words, man is not only motivated to meet his needs for survival and good health or maintenance; he is also motivated to seek stimulation and action to grow and become. Man is constantly motivated; it is a condition of his being to perpetually work to achieve growth goals.

Furthermore, needs arrange themselves in hierarchies of importance. That is, some needs must be satisfied before others. Once the lower needs are satisfied, other higher needs may emerge and then when they are satisfied, again new and higher needs emerge, and so on. At any given level of need dominance, the person is motivated to organize his behavior to satisfy those needs. Once needs are satisfied at a given level, they become unimportant in the current dynamics of the individual. In other words, rewards which were satisfying at one level of motivation no longer motivate once the person moves on to the next higher level.

This need/motivation hierarchy, according to Maslow, is arranged in at least five levels of needs. Examine them from two perspectives- (a) their application with a correctional or probation staff, and their application with inmates.

1. Physiological Needs: These needs are at the base or the foundation of the need hierarchy (see Figure 1). They include those things which are necessary to sustain life processes such as nourishing food and drink, activity, air, etc. These needs also include basic sex gratifications. If these needs remain ungratified, then the person will be dominated by them to seek gratification. All other needs may become simply non-existent or pushed into the background. (Many disadvantaged people in the "ghetto" operate in the beginning at this basic and third level of human needs.) On the other hand, when these needs are relatively well gratified, new needs emerge as being important, i.e., those needs at the next higher level become dominant in motivation.



NOTE: Maslow also maintains that one's gripes or grumbles vary with the need level. Man is ever seeking for the fuller life, so as his complaints are satisfied at the level of basic needs, he becomes more aware of other concerns, such as social injustice.

HIERARCHY OF NEEDS
Figure 1

2. Security Needs: Once a person has satisfied his basic physiological needs, he then seeks out safety. These needs now recruit all the capacities of the person in their service. The person now becomes motivated to stabilize his living arrangements so that his world becomes safe and secure. The person is motivated to make his life more predictable and less ambiguous; to arrange his environment so that danger, tragedy, disruption, disaster, etc. are less likely or not likely at all. This means stabilizing income and employment, providing for a safe neighborhood, obtaining higher education for his children, amassing savings and insurance. (Sociologists point out that the "middle class" in society generally operate at this level of human need.)

3. Belongingness and Love Needs: If both the physiological and safety needs are fairly well gratified, then love, affection and belongingness needs dominate the concerns of a person. These needs find expression in yearnings to belong to someone and/or some group. A person living at this level seeks to establish an identity with others; to seek and give love and affection. Strongly needed is a sense of belonging and membership in a group, and acceptance by other people. The many clubs, organizations and associations which people join point up this human tendency.

4. Esteem Needs: Most people in our society express needs for self-respect or self-esteem, and for the esteem of others. People living at this level desire first of all strength, achievement, adequacy, competence, confidence, independence and freedom. Secondly, there is a strong desire for prestige, recognition, attention, personal impact, and appreciation. These "ego" needs involve the desire to be a prime mover, to be self-determined, to have control over one's fate, to determine one's own movements, to be able to plan and carry out and to succeed, to willingly assume responsibility, to be active rather than passive, to have others acknowledge our capabilities fairly, etc. These needs concern the person's image of himself and the image of others about him. When satisfactions of these needs are thwarted, the person feels weak, helpless and inferior. People who have a need for power and control also manifest this human drive, sometimes in a distorted way.

5. Self-Actualization: At the top of the hierarchy is the need for self-actualization. Even when all the above needs are satisfied, the individual experiences a discontent, a need to strive to become what one is capable of becoming, i.e., there emerges a desire for self-fulfillment. Striving at this level refers to such things as seeking and building excellence of achievement, ultimate value, perfection, honesty, non-selfish justice, truth, beauty, etc. Once the physiological, safety, love and esteem needs are relatively well satisfied, forces must emerge for a person to seek ultimate values for himself and his society. It is from these strivings that the fullest and healthiest

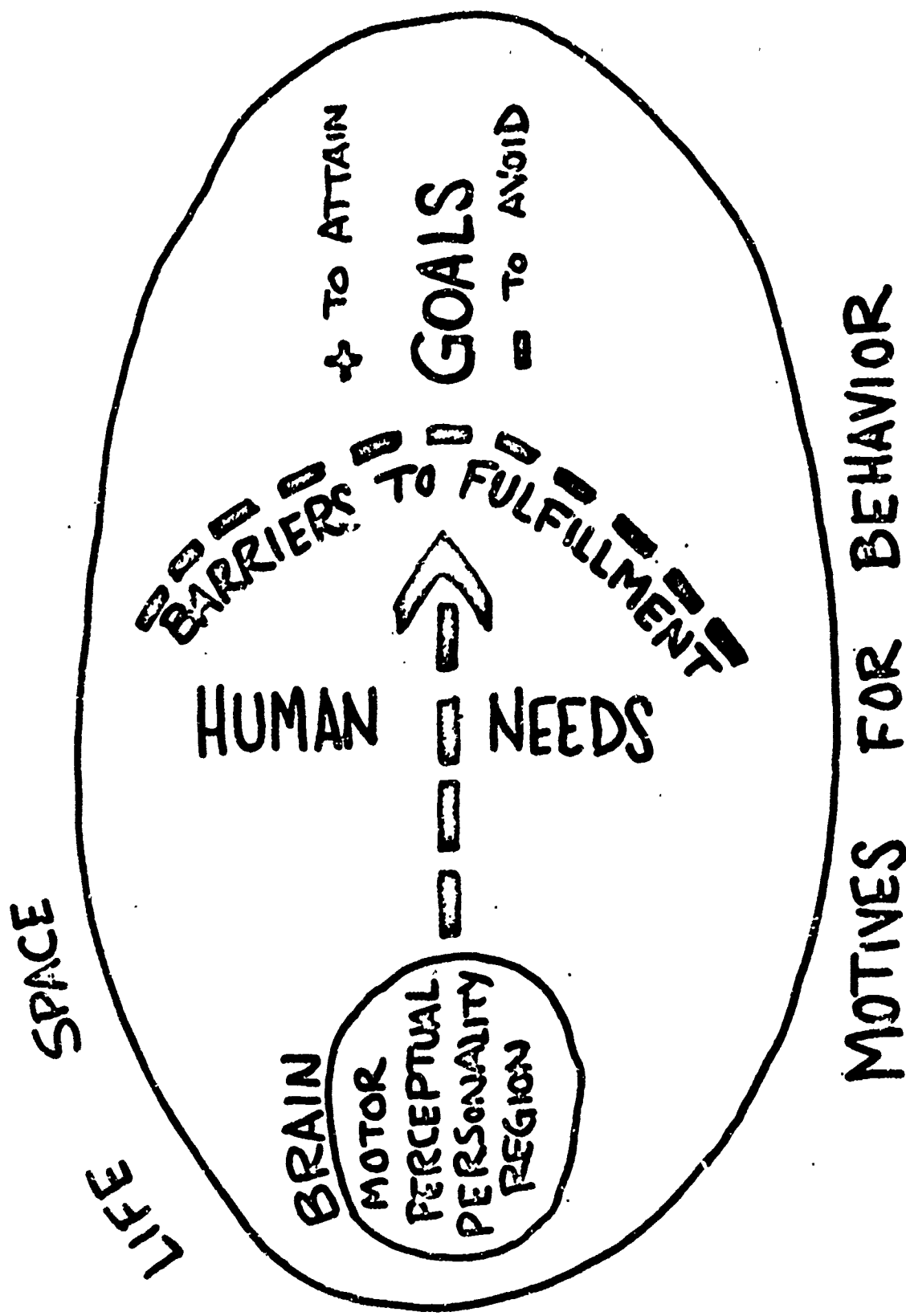


Figure 2

-MOTIVES FOR BEHAVIOR-

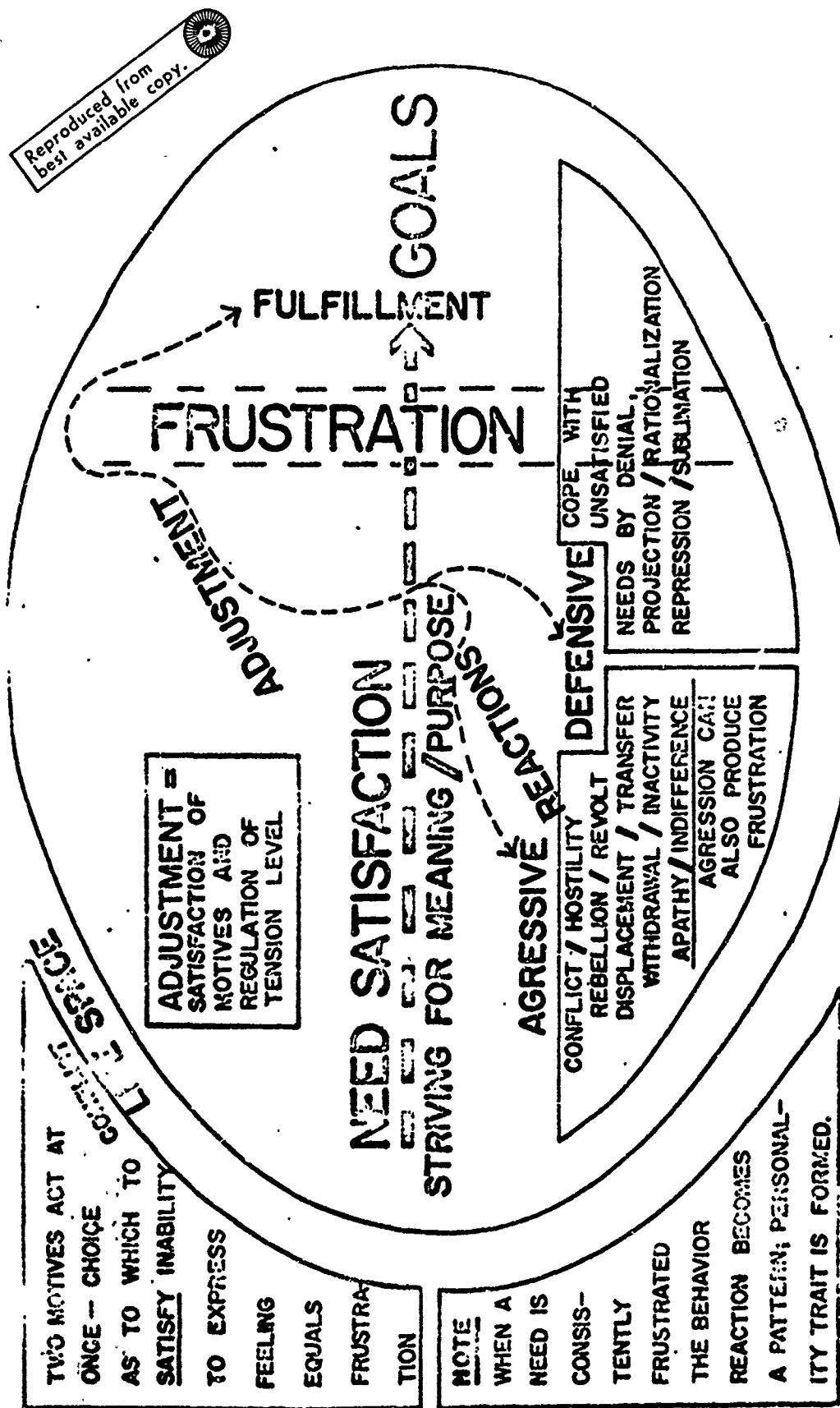


Figure 3

creativeness can be expected. The more mature, educated, and affluent a person becomes, the more likely he will be motivated at these higher levels of human needs.

Goals and Human Needs

Figure 2 illustrates another concept of humanistic psychology. That particular figure has implication for The Criminal Justice System. In a previous resource paper, the point was made that the individual operates within his own invisible life space or private world. Normally, people set goals for themselves in order to satisfy their perceived needs. Such goals may be considered by society to be good or bad, legal or illegal, and the individual's perception may be contrary to that which is commonly held. For example, a poor man whose family is starving may resort to "stealing" in order to feed them. His motivations are worthwhile in his view and subjectively he might feel morally justified in his act.

Figure 3 develops this "motivation model" a little further. Sometimes people run into barriers to achieving their goals, so they experience frustration. Thus, the man who wishes to enter his house and finds the door locked (at a time when he is without keys and no one else is inside), may go around this obstacle by seeking entry through a back door or window. Psychologically, this might be called an adjustment. On the other hand, this means of entry may also prove impossible. Then his reactions might become aggressive or defensive. For instance, he might smash a window in anger, or rationalize that there is no hurry about getting in at this moment.

A careful analysis of this diagram, Motives for Behavior (Figure 3), may also provide clues on the prisoner or parolee's behavior. Frustrated by imprisonment from achieving certain personal goals to satisfy specific needs, he may withdraw and exhibit indifference, or revert to open rebellion.

The objective of correctional staffs should be to endeavor to ascertain what are a prisoner's particular needs, and assist him to satisfy legitimate ones by setting reasonable goals. For example, he could not get work or a promotion because of illiteracy, and he took to crime to satisfy his economic needs; the correctional system might be able to help that prisoner obtain a reading course so that he has better job prospects upon parole.

Figure 4 is a summary of humanistic behavior theory for the normal person. Man seeks meaning in what he does whether it be the warden at work or the prisoner on a correctional assignment. As things happen in the course of his life, the individual tries to fit these into a rational system- so these events and experiences make sense. In the process of growth and development a person should revise this psychological construct from time to time for it provides a key to motivation. A prisoner, for instance, who is locked into a distorted view of himself and others based on his past experiences, must revise or change this "construct" if he is to be rehabilitated.

Figure 5 highlights the major motivating forces in human beings. Even those who have transgressed the law and have been imprisoned are influenced by such factors. The new inmate usually wants to be "one of the boys" - namely, to be accepted by his fellows. Again, a prisoner can not be rehabilitated, until he believes he is adequate as a human being. The diagram further indicates how behavior is related to motives. For instance, there is a direct link between the prisoner's behavior of "showing off" and his motive "to prove himself" as worthwhile.

THEORY X ORGANIZATION

Douglas McGregor, in "The Human Side of Enterprise (1960), has identified a number of implicit assumptions about human nature and behavior which are predominant and pervasive in many organizations today. They underlie traditional management policy and practice. It would appear that many in authority in military and police systems still hold to these views:

1. "The average human being has an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it if he can." This reflects an implicit belief that leaders must counteract this supposed human tendency to avoid work.
2. "Therefore, most people must be coerced, controlled, directed, threatened with punishment to get them to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives." The concern here is that reward is not enough, that people will only demand more, that the threat of negative consequences is the only adequate way to control human performance.
3. "The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, has relatively little ambition, wants security above all." Although this view is rarely expressed verbally, it is often expressed in action.

DYNAMIC FACTORS OF BEHAVIOR MOTIVATION

DYNAMIC

FACTORS

A CONSTRUCT
IS A WAY OF
ABSTRACTING
MEANING FROM
EVENTS AND
EXPERIENCES

MAN IS ACTIVE,
SEEKING (FULFILLMENT),
ORGANIZING BEING

THUS, MAN DEVELOPS
A PSYCHOLOGICAL
CONSTRUCT WITHIN HIS
LIFE SPACE OR
"PRIVATE" WORLD.

MAN IS SELF-
DIRECTIVE, SELF-
ACTUALIZING ACCORDING
TO HIS OWN PREDICTIVE SYSTEM
WHICH SHOULD CHANGE/MATURE

IN THE PROCESS OF HUMAN BEHAVIOR,
MAN PSYCHOLOGICALLY ENERGIZES
OR MOTIVATES HIMSELF AS HE
ANTICIPATES EVENTS

OBJECTIVE

TO ACTUALIZE SELF IN ACCORD WITH HIS OWN PREDICTIVE SYSTEM.
(WHEN MAN ACTS OR BEHAVES THIS WAY, HE FEELS CONGRUENT OR
COMFORTABLE WITH SELF: WHEN HE FAILS TO DO THIS, HE FEELS
INCONGRUENT. IN COMMUNICATION, HE PROJECTS THESE FEELINGS
ABOUT SELF.)

Figure 4

PRIME MOTIVES

- * TO ACHIEVE OR FULFILL SELF
- * TO FIND MEANING OR PURPOSE
- * TO BE A SELF STARTER OR REGULATOR
(Choose Freely)
- * TO SATISFY ONE'S OWN AND OTHER'S
HUMAN NEEDS
SO AS TO FOSTER GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT
- * TO BEHAVE ACCORDING TO WHAT ONE
BELIEVES IS SO
(To act consistently within one's psychological construct)
- * TO PERCEIVE ONESELF AS ADEQUATE
- * TO BE ACCEPTED AND TRUSTED

EXAMPLES OF MOTIVES AND RELATED BEHAVIOR

MOTIVES	BEHAVIOR
To be liked	Avoid conflict
To be a clear thinker	Favor the logical approach
To avoid trouble	play it safe
To achieve	Seek to excel

Figure 5

These assumptions, which McGregor labels as Theory "X" (or Rensis Likert labels as Systems 1 or 2 management), reflect essentially what could be termed as a "pull" theory of motivation. The "pull" theory emphasizes forces in the environment as central in inducing and influencing behavior. Behavior is conceived as a response to demands and pressures, rewards and punishments, deprivations, dangers, and inducements. It conceives of man as a static being, reactive to outside influences. It is a view that emphasizes direction and control as the primary instruments of motivation, a view that most traditional practice is based upon.

These assumptions are not in tune with modern behavioral science research findings of human nature and behavior in organizations. They contain many inconsistencies which simply do not square with the readily-observable phenomena in industry and government. In recent years, a tentative reformulation of these assumptions has resulted in growing acceptance of a newer, more dynamic theory of motivation. The newer theory provides the basis for a different approach by professionals in the criminal justice field.

THEORY "Y" ORGANIZATION

The primary implication of the modern conception of motivation is that once lower needs are satisfied, the motivational emphasis shifts to a higher level of need satisfaction. For example, many younger workers coming from affluent homes have had their basic physical and security needs generally fulfilled. Better educated than previous generations, they seek more meaning, participation, and responsibility in their work assignments. Thus, the typical industrial or correctional systems approach of the past no longer motivates them. These new workers expect adequate pay, benefits and physical working condition. These "hygiene" benefits they take for granted. They look for more from their employment experience - something that relates to job enrichment which satisfies a higher level of human need. If organizations are to satisfy these higher needs, management theory and practice must reflect opportunities for their satisfaction. Older motivators, appropriate at a lower level, will simply cease to be appropriate in the new context.

Theory "X" works reasonably well for lower levels of motivation, i.e., the physiological and safety needs and with less educated people. But this theory does not work at all well once one is motivated primarily by higher level needs. As McGregor states: "The philosophy of management by direction and control - regardless of whether it is hard or soft - is inadequate to motivate because the human needs on which this approach relies are relatively unimportant motivators of behavior in our society today. Direction and control are of limited value in motivating people whose important needs are social and egoistic. People deprived of opportunities to satisfy

at work the needs which are now important to them, behave exactly as we might predict - with indolence, passivity, unwillingness to accept responsibility, resistance to change, willingness to follow the demagogue, unreasonable demands for economic benefits. It would seem that we may be caught in a web of our own weaving."
(from The Human Side of Enterprise, 1960, p. 42)

Frederick Herzberg contends that industry and government agencies only respond to the "Hygiene" needs - adequate pay, good working conditions, and fringe benefits. These "hygiene" needs, according to Herzberg, do not really motivate; they only provide a necessary job environment. Satisfaction of these needs, by and large, only removes health hazards from the environment of man. Removal of these hazards serves to set the stage for the development of positive job attitudes, but does not in and of itself develop positive attitudes. What he calls the true "motivators" - achievement, growth, recognition, responsibility, and advancement - serve to bring about the kind of job satisfaction and improvement in performance that industry must seek from its work force. Yet, the "motivators" tend to be neglected by industry. (See The Motivation to Work, 1959.)

Another behavioral scientist, Chris Argyris, points out that there are some basic incongruities between the growth trends of a healthy personality and the requirements of the traditional formal organization that the basic impact of the formal organizational structure is to make the employees feel dependent, submissive, and passive, and to require them to utilize only a few of their less important abilities. Frustration, conflict, feelings of failure, and short time perspective are the resultant effects of such an environment on the employee. (See Personality and Organization, 1957.) One might apply this insight to a military system, such as the Marines, or a correctional institution, to evoke a lively discussion.

For organizations and institutions in our society to motivate their human resources, opportunities must be provided to satisfy the higher level needs. In order to do this, leaders should encourage organizational forms and styles which optimize the development of human assets. Again, Douglas McGregor has identified a set of assumptions more consistent with a modern behavioral science understanding of human motivation. He labels these assumptions Theory Y. These assumptions are as follows:

1. "The expenditure of physical and mental effort in work is as natural as play or rest." The basic notion here is that work, when gratifying, is a basic source of satisfaction and will be performed willingly and eagerly.

2. "External control and the threat of punishment are not the only means for bringing about effort toward organizational objectives. Man will exercise self-direction and self-control in the service of objectives to which he is committed."

3. "Commitment to objectives is a function of the rewards associated with their achievement." That is, efforts toward realizing organizational objectives, if satisfying to ego and self-actualization needs, can lead to strong commitment.

4. "The average human being learns, under proper conditions, not only to accept, but to seek responsibility." Again, once higher needs are being satisfied by this activity, individuals will seek out greater responsibility.

5. "The capacity to exercise a relatively high degree of imagination, ingenuity, and creativity in the solution of organizational problems, is widely, not narrowly distributed in the population."

6. "Under conditions of modern industrial life, the intellectual potentialities of the average human being are only partially utilized." Perhaps in the on-coming post-industrial age, we may have more leisure to develop our other capabilities.

This conception of human behavior, rather than static and controlled, emphasizes the dynamic possibilities of human growth within an organization which includes the potential to maximize the participation and involvement of all those involved in achieving the organization's objectives. "Theory Y" challenges correctional management to discover ways to realize the potential represented by its human resources.

"Theory Y" management practice emphasizes the creation of conditions such that the members of an organization can achieve their own goals best by direction of their efforts toward achieving the organization's objectives. In other words, management practice should attempt to integrate individual staff needs with the needs of the organization. It is assumed that people will exercise self-direction and self-discipline in the achievement of organizational objectives so long as they are committed to these objectives. Commitment follows from opportunities to satisfy higher level needs through meaningful participation in the organization. That is, commitment to objectives follows from meaningful opportunities to realize one's full potential within the framework of the organization.

Practically speaking, one can apply this theory in a correctional institution in this manner:

- (a) Top administration determines the institutional needs and objectives, then reviews these with staff for any feedback and modifications;

(b) Staff units determine their program needs and objectives in light of these over-all goals;

(c) When possible, these program plans might be reviewed with selected inmates, as well as top administration, for feedback and modification before being initiated.

Motivation specialist, Saul Gellerman, emphasizes that the environmental influences which have always shaped man's ideas are themselves changing so rapidly and explosively that a new kind of human will emerge, persons characterized by complex and shifting needs at ever higher levels of motivation. He holds that the basic motivational deficiency in organizations is the lack of sufficient decision-making authority and responsibility by people who could respond to such powers by increased commitment. Decision making, according to Gellerman, is unnecessarily monopolized by administration at higher organizational levels. Increased decision-making authority at lower levels would go a long way toward motivating people toward organizational commitment and expansion of their developing potential. (See Management by Motivation, 1968.)

CONCLUSIONS

Correctional leaders today are faced with the challenge of managing accelerating change, so rapid that it threatens the very survival of many organizations. To respond to this change, management should seek to develop maximal potential from its human resources. To do so, criminal justice practice should be based on sound conceptions of human behavior and motivation.

Traditional administration based on direction and control fail, especially with staff, to meet the demands for satisfaction of higher level motivations dominant in today's work environment. Reward structures, adequate for meeting lower level physiological and safety needs alone, no longer motivate. Rather, they engender resistance, apathy, and antagonism to the goals of the organization.

On the other hand, approaches to correctional management which recognize man as a dynamic, self-determined, motivated, seeker of responsibility and growth opportunity, hold the promise of maximizing the emergence of human potential. The satisfaction of these higher level needs can engender commitment to the organization's goals and objectives. The administration can only help to provide a creative organizational environment, so the worker will motivate himself to greater self development and productivity.

Motives are internal energizing forces. Each man lives with his own unique need system which influences his behavior. It is important, therefore, that the correctional professional first analyze his own needs and motives which affect his performance on the job. He should then attempt to understand the needs and motive systems of those who work for him or for whom he is responsible. In the course of performance appraisal, he has an opportunity to help subordinates assess their own needs and motives for improved job performance and goal setting. The supervisor in The Criminal Justice System can engage in job enrichment, broadening the responsibilities of work assignments to they are more meaningful. In this way, work itself can become a motivator.

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1971

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SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT:



THOMAS JEFFERSON RESEARCH CENTER

"The things that will destroy America are prosperity-at-any-price, peace-at-any-price, safety-first instead of duty-first, the love of soft living and the get-rich quick theory of life."

THEODORE ROOSEVELT (1917)

No. 53 July 1970 Published Monthly 1143 No. Lake Ave., Pasadena, California 91104

THE YONAN CODEX STORY

by Frank Goble

For more than 7 years the Research Center has been analyzing and documenting the evidence for a major breakthrough in psychology. The "new" (some of the ideas are thousands of years old) approach is still in its pioneering stage yet is consistently producing results from 50 to 300% better than present orthodoxy. The breakthrough revolves around the concept of individual responsibility—the idea that it can be taught and is highly satisfying to the individual as well as necessary to his society.

Attitudinal Psychotherapy is still another link in the chain of evidence supporting the concept of individual responsibility. It is the result of years of research by the Yonan Codex Foundation and has proved remarkably effective in a wide variety of applications from character development to marriage counseling and the rehabilitation of chronic alcoholics and hardened criminals. The procedure is inexpensive, fast, and easy for therapists to learn. The president and founder of the Yonan Codex Foundation is Dan MacDougald, a highly successful Atlanta attorney. In 1956 MacDougald began an intensive study of psychology sparked by his concern for the problems of criminals. His studies eventually led him to William James whose statement, "Human beings can alter their lives by altering their attitudes of mind" became an integral part of his thinking and eventually resulted in the discovery of Attitude Psychotherapy.

MacDougald asked the question, why would alteration of attitudes of mind alter one's life? And upon investigation it became clear that life is behavior and judgment controls behavior. He wrote, "The last act of the mind before behavior is judgment, conscious, subconscious or instinctive. Judgment is, in turn, based upon perception—what is being perceived and comprehended—upon what is remembered, and upon

the reasoning employed. So the quality of judgment is directly proportional to the quality of perception, memory and reason."

In 1962 Dr. Jerome Bruner testified before a congressional subcommittee as follows: "My colleague at Harvard, Professor George Miller, has shown, rather convincingly, I think, that human beings are capable of registering only about seven plus or minus two independent items of information at once. This forces the human nervous system into a program of selectivity."

So Bruner's work and that of Dr. John Eccles established that human beings have an inhibitory system—a control system in their minds which can and does control the individual's access to present fact—a slow but inexorable control over the quality of judgment and behavior.

MacDougald found that perception is subject to control by the individual—a control which might be compared to a tuning condenser on a radio or TV set. "Surrounded by a multitude of signals, only one gets through as the condenser inhibits all other signals but the selected one. The 'tuning system' of the human mind is its attitudes . . . Our will can control our attitudes. And this is why we can alter our lives by altering our attitudes of mind."

MacDougald's next endeavor was to determine *what* attitudes should be altered in order to constructively alter behavior. He found that the best source for this information was in ancient documents in the Aramaic language—the language of most of the prophets of the Old Testament, the language of Jesus, the Koran and of Mohammed. It was in the study of this ancient language where MacDougald found considerable instruction on *koodsha* (proper) attitudes, or good attitudes, as well as precise meanings for the words which ultimately became the foundation for Attitude Psychotherapy.

MacDougald found that in Aramaic the word "love" was considered to be an attitude rather than a physical exercise or feeling. He also found the statement that all law hangs on love of God and love for neighbor as oneself, and studies of the word "law" indicated its meaning in that instruction to be the rules by which human beings should live and think. He reasoned that if this were true, conforming one's attitudes to this instruction should yield a yardstick by which the mind could assess all rules, reasoning, perception, memory, judgments and behavior.

In order to understand and use this suggested good attitude of love toward God, neighbor and self, one must have a correct concept in mind for each word. In English they have never been defined with exactness. In Aramaic they are finite concepts with concrete meanings.

The Foundation researchers developed a list of precisely defined concepts necessary to proper attitudes and tested these meanings in the solution of human problems. The words were: self, neighbor, God, love, law, sin, failure, forgive, reason, judgment, and attitude.

MacDougald's plan was to use the Socratic method to teach the Aramaic meanings of these words to those having difficulties and see what happened.

Does it work? How does it work? Is there evidence that it works? To explore this we now refer to C. D. Warren, M.D., formerly medical director of the Georgia Department of Corrections, to see what actually happened.

Dr. Warren first reported his findings in a lecture to the annual convention of the American Correctional Association in 1969. He told how the Yonan Codex people started with two inmates of a Georgia prison and instructed them in the new method. Then the Yonan representatives and the two inmates instructed 22 men in one two-hour session a week for eight weeks. "Gentlemen," Dr. Warren told the convention, "it worked."

"In two weeks—with the 22-man group—the constructive changes were so impressive that I issued a special report to the Georgia Director of Corrections. In eight weeks they claimed to have successfully rehabilitated 63% of the men under instruction."

In June of 1970 the State of Georgia validated the record of the original 22 men who had received the Yonan Codex instruction at Reidsville Prison from December 1967 to February 1968. Of the fourteen men certified as rehabilitated there has been no record of parole violation since release from prison. This compares with an average of 60-70% parole violations for prisoners released from Reidsville. In another experiment Attitude Psychotherapy was applied to 61 chronic court offender alcoholics. The apparent success ratio was 33% (those whose drinking

problem has been arrested are still under observation). Some of the participants celebrated their first alcohol-free birthday after a record of 10-20 years of compulsive drinking.

How is it that these teachings can rehabilitate? This is how it works. Judging from Jung and from Aramaic teachings of Jesus and Hebrew literature there is a self—the guiding source of individual personality which to a high degree is developed and shaped by learning. It may be improperly distorted by faulty learning. The Yonan technique assumes that the stimulus for learning for this guiding self is its ceaseless quest for freedom from tension—freedom from mind conflict. All words and all behavioral and mental habits are seen under Yonan technique as evidence of "neural structures" or mental entities which a mind can form or eliminate if it wants to and/or knows how.

This is what is taught:

1. Criminality originates in the mind and is the product of faulty learning or failure to learn.
2. The human mind has an inhibitory system which routinely and automatically removes from perception, reason and judgment over 30% of available fact, which removal usually prevents correction of criminality and personality problems.
3. This filter system must be controlled by each individual or else his mind will not receive proper information and may develop into an anti-social personality.
4. Each word in the directions for properly controlling this filter system must be accurately understood . . . the directions cannot be followed.

The self of every anti-social personality under the Yonan approach is thought to have two basic faults: the self has faulty neural structures which will be evidenced by faulty word comprehension, and secondly, it has failed to form certain other needed neural structures, the evidence of which is ignorance of the meaning of words which relate to these missing "mental entities."

When the key words and concepts are taught to an anti-social personality, it will become a social personality if they are used and applied in life situations. It changes because the new personality experiences less tension in living and thinking than did the old. Thus the new self becomes the permanent self and the rehabilitation becomes permanent.

Validation of the Theory

Superior Court Judge Asa D. Kelley, Jr., formerly director of corrections for the State of Georgia, had long felt that the problems of many lawbreakers, mentally ill citizens and persons with domestic problems can be traced to the same source—lack of an adequate system of values and rules under which to live. He said, "The medical director (of the Department of Corrections) and I were extremely impressed with the program and its effective results; and to this day have found no teaching technique or teaching material which can compare in effectiveness, nor has there been demonstrated any other approach which can be carried out so economically."

A dramatic example of the therapy can be found in what happened to Lester Maddox, Jr. He had been arrested for burglary after "drinking all day." At the time he was on parole from a previous violation of the law. MacDougald wrote as follows to Lester's father, the governor of Georgia: "Let me express my deepest sympathies. I will rehabilitate your son and keep him from prison. It could be done if I were appointed as his counsel."

Young Lester did go into therapy with MacDougald, and the results are contained in a sworn statement of Dr. Ray A. Craddick, a diplomate of the American Board of Examiners and Professional Psychology, a university professor as well as a private clinician. Utilizing the facilities of the Georgia State College Institute for Psychological Studies Dr. Craddick conducted a psychological analysis of Lester Maddox Jr. in April, 1969 before Lester received Attitude Psychotherapy.

Dr. Craddick found Maddox Jr. to be "functioning way below his potential and capacity." He was extremely impulsive, self-centered, hostile, aggressive, depressed, and, said Craddick would be considered to be quite disturbed by any psychologists looking at the tests.

A little over one month later Dr. Craddick re-tested Lester with the following findings. "There is overwhelming evidence of drastic changes in this young man's personality, intelligence and behavior. All changes are in the direction of maturity, and much less impulsive behavior than was the case in the initial testing . . . For example, his intelligence as reflected on the test was raised on practically all the subtests, with the end result of moving him from functioning at the average (overall) level to now being in the superior category . . . Very seldom does one encounter such changes at these levels within this relatively short time span. In summary, it is my professional opinion that Mr. Lester G. Maddox, Jr. has shown remarkable and dramatic personality and intellectual changes between the two testing sessions. These results would, in my opinion, make him an excellent probation risk."

Of MacDougald's therapy Lester Jr. himself said, "Mr. MacDougald's course has taught me how to love people and how to be a good citizen."

Leonard J. Hippchen, Ph. D. with Florida State University's Department of Criminology and Corrections wrote, "The results of the Yonan demonstration are striking because we were dealing with severe sociopaths in a maximum security prison, and even experts these days say this behavior cannot be modified."

What of the prisoners themselves? What do they think of the program? Jack Feldman wrote the following to Dan MacDougald in March, 1968. "I was quite skeptical at the first discussion session and

could not see how an understanding of the teachings of Jesus would help me to arrive at sound judgments. I was confident that my own standards in life were the proper ones for me . . . During one of the first discussion periods you gave me a simple definition of God . . . I was really taken by this as it was the first time any concept of God had not seemed an affront to my intelligence. This opened many doors . . . The next important revelation was the ability to see my particular problems, that of always feeling I was right in what I did and said . . . I shall remain grateful to you and the foundation the rest of my life . . . This understanding will aid me not only when I return to free society, but even while I remain in prison."

Another prisoner said: "Now I have been more conscious since I have had this training, because I think a lot of times purely selfishly. Not being able to be conscious of something else besides yourself is probably the real reason why many of us came here, just pure selfishness. I think the idea of unconditional love gets you away from this selfishness, this self-centeredness, that I think perhaps may have been the reason for my being here."

Wrote MacDougald, "The opinion of a skilled, experienced guard with respect to a change of behavior in a convict is excellent evidence. The guards at every maximum security prison must know their cons. A mistake can mean death."

A guard called "Radar" because of his ability to spot contraband was so struck by the almost-over-night changes in an inmate named Joe Taravella that he went up to him and asked him what had happened. He knew that Taravella had resented him ever since first coming to the institution. "He would pull away from me . . . not enough to make a charge against him for disrespecting an officer, but you could just feel the resentment there. And then when you started working with him I could tell the difference in him."

Members of the inmates' families were able to spot behavior changes immediately. Typical is this response from one of the wives: "I think it is wonderful work that you are doing. It surely helped my husband a great deal. I can tell a lot of change in him. He seems easier to talk to about things, and he doesn't let things upset him as they did before. He seemed very impressed with your work and I would like to thank you deeply for all you've done, not only for him, but for many others like him."

LEARNING MODULE II

UNDERSTANDING
DEVIANT
BEHAVIOR
AMONG CONFINES

SIX CRITERIA OF HEALTHY PERSONALITY (Allport)

1. Ego-extension: the capacity of taking an interest in more than one's body and one's material possessions.
2. Self-objectification: the ability to know and understand oneself, to recognize how one's present behavior and reactions are influenced by similar experiences in the past. It implies the capacity to look at oneself objectively, even to be able to laugh at oneself. A sense of humor depends upon such self-objectification.
3. A unifying philosophy of life: this philosophy may or may not be religious, but it needs to be, at least, a frame of meaning and of responsibility into which life's major activities fit.
4. The capacity for a warm, profound relating of oneself to others.
5. The possession of realistic skills, abilities, and perceptions with which to cope with the practical problems of life.
6. A compassionate regard for all living creatures: includes respect for individual persons and a disposition to participate with others in activities that will improve the human lot.

UNDERSTANDING DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

--Human Development

"The growing child must master a series of accomplishments in the course of development. He must, as he grows, learn about people and must experience the real world; he should acquire the capacity to think, feel, and behave within a restricted range of socially-approved dimensions of sensation, perception, thought, emotion, motivation, and verbal and motor behavior. Disorder in any of these aspects of social existence may prompt others to confine him, punish him, restrict his freedom, or discriminate against him. Implicit in this range of approved and disapproved social actions is the conviction that there are correct and incorrect, acceptable and unacceptable, good and bad ways to experience life

"This means man must learn to respond to his bodily sensations in ways that roughly match those of his fellow citizens. He must also think approximately in the way others do in order to communicate effectively with them. He must express emotion with the proper intensity and appropriateness, and his verbal and motor behavior must fit the public mold or he will be in social trouble."

From: McNeill, E. Neuroses and personality disorders. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970, p. 87.

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RESOURCE PAPER #7 CJ

1971

ANALYSIS OF DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

(Note: These definitions of abnormal behavior have been taken from Mental Disorders- Diagnostic and Statistical Manual DSM-II, published by the American Psychiatric Association, Washington, D. C., 1968.)

Instructions: Read the description of the personality disorder and fill in the blanks with the information requested if you are able. Skip any item which you do not understand or have had no experience.

301 PERSONALITY DISORDERS

This group of disorders is characterized by deeply ingrained maladaptive patterns of behavior that are perceptibly different in quality from psychotic and neurotic symptoms. Generally, these are life-long patterns, often recognizable by the time of adolescence or earlier. Sometimes the pattern is determined primarily by malfunctioning of the brain, but such cases should be classified under one of the non-psychotic organic brain syndromes rather than here.

X 301.0 Paranoid personality

This behavioral pattern is characterized by hypersensitivity, rigidity, unwarranted suspicion, jealousy, envy, excessive self-importance, and a tendency to blame others and ascribe evil motives to them. These characteristics often interfere with the patient's ability to maintain satisfactory interpersonal relations. Of course, the presence of suspicion of itself does not justify this diagnosis, since the suspicion may be warranted in some instances.

Question- Have you ever observed a prisoner who fit this description in a severe degree, especially one who was super sensitive and suspicious of everyone? Describe his behavior: _____

301.1 Cyclothymic personality ((Affective personality))

This behavior pattern is manifested by recurring and alternating periods of depression and elation. Periods of elation may be marked by ambition, warmth, enthusiasm, optimism, and high energy. Periods of depression may be marked by worry, pessimism, low energy, and a sense of futility. These mood variations are not readily attributable to external circumstances. If possible, the diagnosis should specify whether the mood is characteristically depressed, hypomanic, or alternating.

Question- Have you had experience with a prisoner who shifted from very high moods to very low ones and was not under drug influence? Describe his actions as you remember them:

*301.2 Schizoid personality

This behavior pattern manifests shyness, over-sensitivity, seclusiveness, avoidance of close or competitive relationships, and often eccentricity. Autistic thinking without loss of capacity to recognize reality is common, as is daydreaming and the inability to express hostility and ordinary aggressive feelings. These patients react to disturbing experiences and conflicts with apparent detachment.

Question- Have you ever observed a prisoner who seemed completely "out of it" or detached from reality? If you recall any of his unusual actions, indicate a few.

*301.3 Explosive personality (Epileptoid personality disorder)

This behavior pattern is characterized by gross outbursts of rage or of verbal or physical aggressiveness. These outbursts are strikingly different from the patient's usual behavior, and he may be regretful and repentant for them. These patients are generally considered excitable, aggressive and over-responsive to environmental pressures. It is the intensity of the outbursts and the individual's inability to control them which distinguishes this group. Cases diagnosed as "aggressive personality" are classified here.

Question- Have you ever witnessed in your correctional experience a quiet prisoner who periodically gives way to violent outbreaks and then becomes very apologetic when it is over? If so, describe your observations:

301.4 Obsessive compulsive personality ((Anankastic personality))

This behavior pattern is characterized by excessive concern with conformity and adherence to standards of conscience. Consequently, individuals in this group may be rigid, over-inhibited, over-conscientious, over-dutiful, and unable to relax easily. This disorder may lead to an *Obsessive compulsive neurosis* (q.v.), from which it must be distinguished.

Question- Have you ever observed an enlisted man who seemed constantly "uptight" or very rigid in his personality; over concerned about the exact performance of smallest details? If so, describe his actions as you recall them:

301.5 Hysterical personality (Histrionic personality disorder)

These behavior patterns are characterized by excitability, emotional instability, over-reactivity, and self-dramatization. This self-dramatization is always attention-seeking and often seductive, whether or not the patient is aware of its purpose. These personalities are also immature, self-centered, often vain, and usually dependent on others. This disorder must be differentiated from *Hysterical neurosis* (q.v.).

Question- Have you ever noticed a prisoner who seemed continuously unstable and emotional, constantly dramatizing things that happen to him in order to get your attention? If so, make a few notes on this behavior as you remember it:

301.6 Asthenic personality

This behavior pattern is characterized by easy fatigability, low energy level, lack of enthusiasm, marked incapacity for enjoyment, and oversensitivity to physical and emotional stress. This disorder must be differentiated from *Neurasthenic neurosis* (q.v.):

Question- Have you ever come across a prisoner who seemed to be "dragging" all the time, lacking in any energy and complaining at the least expenditure of effort? If so, describe this person as you have watched him?

*** 301.7 Antisocial personality**

This term is reserved for individuals who are basically unsocialized and whose behavior pattern brings them repeatedly into conflict with society. They are incapable of significant loyalty to individuals, groups, or social values. They are grossly selfish, callous, irresponsible, impulsive, and unable to feel guilt or to learn from experience and punishment. Frustration tolerance is low. They tend to blame others or offer plausible rationalizations for their behavior. A mere history of repeated legal or social offenses is not sufficient to justify this diagnosis. *Group delinquent reaction of childhood (or adolescence)* (q.v.), and *Social maladjustment without manifest psychiatric disorder* (q.v.) should be ruled out before making this diagnosis.

Question- Have you observed a prisoner who seems incapable of getting along with anybody-he was completely selfish, blaming of others, and easily frustrated. If so, note here his behavior:

301.81 Passive-aggressive personality

This behavior pattern is characterized by both passivity and aggressiveness. The aggressiveness may be expressed passively, for example by obstructionism, pouting, procrastination, intentional inefficiency, or stubbornness. This behavior commonly reflects hostility which the individual feels he dare not express openly. Often the behavior is one expression of the patient's resentment at failing to find gratification in a relationship with an individual or institution upon which he is over-dependent.

Question- Have you met a prisoner who seemed to have deep-seated hostility which he expressed by aggressive acts, or by continually blocking progress, or by apathy and gold bricking all the time? If you have encountered such a person, describe his behavior:

301.82 Inadequate personality

This behavior pattern is characterized by ineffectual responses to emotional, social, intellectual and physical demands. While the patient seems neither physically nor mentally deficient, he does manifest inadaptability, ineptness, poor judgment, social instability, and lack of physical and emotional stamina.

Question- Have you ever come across a prisoner who seemed to be a complete defeatist? Someone who manifests such a lack of confidence in himself that he appears unable to do anything correctly? If so, describe what you observed in him:

NOTE TO PARTICIPANTS: The purpose of this exercise was to help you become more aware of psychological disorders among prisoners. This does not mean that you are expected to diagnose or attempt to treat such behavior. However, this awareness may help you (a) in reporting the matter to the competent authorities able to deal with the problem; and (b) in being more cautious in your handling of such prisoners.

CRITICAL INCIDENTS IN CORRECTIONS

#1 PFC. Enoch, a Marine Prisoner, is in formation and has been behaving in an extremely antagonistic manner to the Unit Warden. Enoch talks under his breath while marching and refuses to keep in step with the others. At times he even refuses to march. He looks sullen and acts abrasive. When the warden singles Enoch out for a reprimand, he just smiles or shrugs his shoulders, observing "I ain't doing nothin' wrong." Often, he is technically correct. His behavior is always just on the verge of disrespect, but it is difficult to pin anything on him.

a) How would you handle the situation? b) Are there any other alternatives?

#2 Sgt. Efferson, a duty man, has been sent to you as a Senior N.C.O. for "counseling" because of unacceptable behavior. He has not violated any correctional facility rules, but is causing difficulties with the prisoners for he is over-zealous and picayune in his application of the confinement requirements. His excessive adherence to the "letter of the law" and rigid behavior causes more problems than he solves.

a) What suggestions would you offer to him? b) How could you help him experiment with new, more flexible behavior?

#3 A prisoner in Alpha Co. approaches you in your role of brig counselor. He looks rather sheepish and wants to talk about a private matter. After several minutes of evasiveness and hesitation, he reveals that being around the other inmates in such close confinement is making him very nervous. He even is getting self-conscious about going to the showers. The situation is "bugging" him so much that he is having trouble eating and sleeping.

a) What would you do? b) What are some other symptoms have you observed prisoners develop because of the tension of close quarters?

#4 Sims has been confined to the brig for approximately one week. As part of the duty personnel, you notice he is very slow in his mannerisms, very quiet, and a "loner". He doesn't appear to eat much and is listless. He talks rarely, yet can be easily angered - he almost snarls at people who try to be friendly.

a) What procedure would you follow with these observations? b) Would you advocate punishment or preventative work with him?

#5 This confinee is just out of boot camp a few months and now is in the correction facility for a number of relatively minor infractions. Oscar is a loud, demanding, complaining nuisance. He has been UA and disrespectful. He complains about all the "hassle" in the Marine Corps, and wants to be left alone. "I want to be free to be myself. I am tired with everybody telling me what to do. They treat me like I'm a child. This is like a Communist organization; everybody is messing up my mind. I can't stand it anymore. I don't know what I'm going to do, but the Corps won't like it. When my sentence is over, I'll go U.A. again until I am out of the Marines. If they won't discharge me, maybe I'll kill myself. I've had it!"

a) As the N.C.O. of Charlie Company, what would you do with this type of prisoner?
b) Is force a good approach with Oscar and men like him?

RI#7CJ

#6 You are the night duty NCO. You get a frantic call from the duty man that a prisoner has just cut his wrist. He is bleeding moderately, and a corpsman is already patching him up. He reports that the prisoner does not need hospitalization for his wounds. On the other hand, the inmate is very agitated and threatens to "do it again."

a) How would you proceed in this situation? b) Do you think it would help to let the prisoner "ventilate" - talk it out?

#7 As a guard, you are assigned to escort a confinee from his solitary cell. As you open the door, the prisoner jumps to the back of the cell and really appears to be quite frightened. He yells, "Get away from me. I know you are going to hurt me. I'm not going to let you do it." He appears to be getting quite agitated and angry. You feel uneasy for the prisoner looks dangerous to you.

a) What should you do? b) How do you explain this kind of behavior in a prisoner?

#8 A prisoner seems to be acting out of line. He never follows instructions and gets assignments mixed up. When you talk to him, he acts very scared and babbles in Spanish mixed with some English. He appears confused and bewildered by the whole situation. His name is Lopez.

a) What procedure would you follow with this man? b) Do you think cultural differences can explain some behavior which appears to be deviant?

LEARNING MODULE III

IMPROVING
CORRECTIONAL
COMMUNICATION

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
INSTITUTE FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE
PERSONNEL

RESOURCE INSTRUMENT #1 CJ-A

1971

COMMUNICATIONS INVENTORY

Here is a check-list for an appraisal of yourself as a communicator in The Criminal Justice System. Simply place a mark next to the category which best describes your present approach to the communication process.

You may wish to share your evaluation with another staff member to ascertain if your assessment is confirmed or not. When you have identified areas for improvement, develop a strategy to increase your communication skills.

In communicating, I project a positive image of myself (e.g., voice, bearing, appearance, etc.).

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I try to understand and enter into the receiver's frame of reference (e.g., empathetic, restate his point of view, etc.).

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I establish eye contact with the receiver.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I communicate respect for the receiver of my message (e.g., listening carefully, not making him feel inferior, etc.).

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I use as many media as necessary to get my meaning across (e.g., communication symbols that appeal to several senses, or a combination of means for communicating).

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I am aware of my own inner state which conditions my communication (e.g., feelings, needs, motives, assumptions, prejudices, etc.)

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I try not to let emotionally loaded words used by the other person distort my responses.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I try to listen not only to facts and ideas (cognitive data), but to the feelings which the other reveals.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I try to be open to new ideas and constructive criticism regardless of the source.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I am willing to share the other person to the point of personal change if it is warranted.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I try to be authentic in my communication and level with others when it is appropriate.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I try to reduce the physical and psychological distance between me and my listeners.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I check to ascertain if my real meaning is understood.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I allow the other person to ask questions and seek clarification regarding my message-sending.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I ask questions and seek clarification during the communication exchange.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

In speaking, I try to project my voice clearly.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

In speaking, I try to vary the tone of my voice.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

In speaking, I try to say what I really mean.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

In speaking, I try to use a vocabulary that is understandable to the receiver.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

In speaking, I try to be concise.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

I follow up on the communication to see if agreements or instructions are carried out.

_____ Seldom _____ Occasionally _____ Often _____ Always

Participant's Initials

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
INSTITUTE FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE
PERSONNEL

RESOURCE PAPER #1 CJ

1971

CRIMINAL JUSTICE COMMUNICATION AS A PEOPLE PROCESS

by Dr. Philip R. Harris

Communication is at the heart of the criminal justice system... It is the most important tool corrections personnel have for getting things done. It is the basis for understanding, for cooperation, and for action. In fact, the very vitality and creativity of an organization depends upon the content and character of its communications. Yet, communication is both hero and villain. Not only is it the process which transfers information, meets people's needs and gets action, but far too often it is the process which distorts messages, develops frustration, and renders people and institutions ineffective.

Failures in communication account for many administrative problems.
Cost of miscommunication is almost beyond calculation - not only in terms of time and money, but in terms of misunderstanding, inefficiency and hostility.

THE COMMUNICATION PROCESS

Communication is a process of circular interaction which involves a sender, receiver, and message (refer to Figure 1). Man is a versatile communicator - he can communicate with nature, animals, and other men. But with human interaction the sender or receiver may be a person or a group of people, such as those who make up an organization.

The message exchanged conveys meaning through the medium or symbol used to send it (the how), as well as in its content (the what). For example, the sender may be a prison guard or probation officer, and the receiver may be a prisoner or probationer. Since humans are such intelligent symbol-making creatures, the message may be relayed verbally, or non-verbally by words (oral or written), pictures, graphs, statistics, signs, gestures. Among minority groups in our population, for example, the "ghetto"

COMMUNICATION

IS

1. SHARED DIALOGUE -- TWO-WAY USUALLY.
2. PERSONALIZED OR INDIVIDUALIZED.
3. SYMBOLIC -- EXPRESSED IN A VARIETY OF FORMS OR MEDIA -- VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL.
4. TRANSMISSION OF INTENDED AND UNINTENDED BEHAVIOR.
5. COMPLEX -- LANGUAGE AND ACTIONS HAVE MULTIPLE MEANINGS.
6. HELPING THE RECEIVER TO FEEL COMFORTABLE AND SECURE WITH THE SENDER.

IS NOT

- A. SIMPLY TALKING LOUD AND LONG ENOUGH.
- B. PROVIDING MINIMUM INFORMATION NECESSARY TO SEDUCE PEOPLE TO ACCEPT YOUR VIEWPOINT.
- C. A COMPLETELY ACTIVE SENDER OR COMPLETELY PASSIVE RECEIVER.
- D. INTERPRETING THE MESSAGE JUST FROM MY VIEWPOINT.
- E. BASED SOLELY ON YOUR ASSUMPTIONS.

FIGURE 1

people frequently have great skill in non-verbal communication, but limitations in the use of words. Often they have a dialect or adaptation of the English language which is difficult for the middle class American to understand. In any event, the diversity of man's capacities to communicate range from such communication media as smoke signals and the sound of drums to television and satellites. As a dynamic being, man is constantly inventing new and improved ways of communicating, such as the computer or videophone. However, regardless of the communication symbol, a sender and receiver are normally involved.

(1) Life Space

Both sender and receiver occupy a unique field of experience, different for each and every person. Essentially, it is a private world of perception through which all experience is filtered, organized, and translated; it is what psychologists call the individual's life space. This consists of the person's "psychological" environment as it exists for him, for each and every person experiences life in a unique way, and psychologically structures his own distinctive perceptual field. Among the factors which comprise one's field of experience are his family, educational, cultural, religious, and social background (see Figure (3)). The individual's perceptual field affects the way he receives and dispenses all new information. It influences both the content and the media used in communicating.

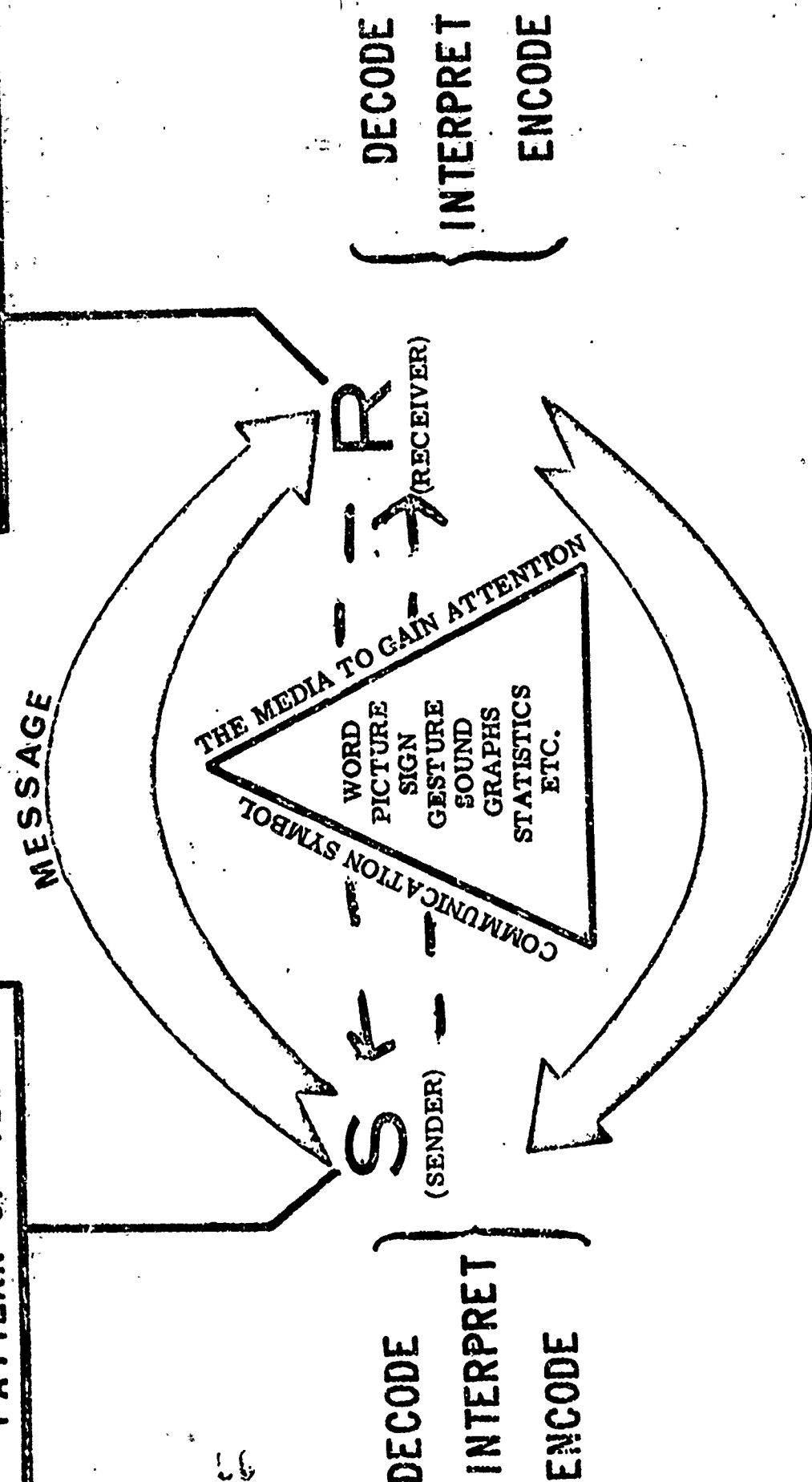
In a prison, for example, not only has each individual perceptual field or "private world", but the prisoner's life space generally is often quite different from that of the staff. Often there are communication gaps between these two groups caused by wide differences in viewpoint as a result of different values, levels of education, feelings about authority figures, ideas of responsibility. The challenge for a real professional in the criminal justice rehabilitation is for the prison or probation staff to get into the "private world" of the inmate or ex-con. To try and see or feel as they do, in order to communicate with them more effectively, there is a need to get down to their level of communication.

(2) Self Image

An individual's self image, his needs, values, expectations, goals, group standards, cultural norms, and perception of the receiver all have an effect on the way input is received and interpreted. Essentially, person "selectively" perceives or receives all new data, determining that which is relevant to, and consistent with his own perceptual needs. Literally, two people can thus receive the same message and derive from it two entirely different meanings. They actually perceive the same object differently. Communication, then, is a complex process of linking up or sharing perceptual fields between sender and receiver (see Figure 3).

FIELD OF EXPERIENCE
PATTERN OF IDEAS

FIELD OF EXPERIENCE
PATTERN OF IDEAS



CIRCULAR INTERACTION
FIGURE 2

A warden, for instance, communicates a direction to his staff. Because of their backgrounds and selective listening, the guard chaplain, and maintenance chief may interpret that message in three distinctly different ways. Unless the warden checks to see if his meaning has been understood by these three men, much difficulty may ensue as they carry out these instructions. If they have been asked to inform the inmates of this message, then the information can get "garbled" as it passes along the communication system unless efforts are taken to clarify the original directions and to send that message out in several different media (e.g., word of mouth, bulletin board, poster, etc.)

Once the sender conveys the message, the receiver analyzes the message in terms of his particular field of experience and pattern of ideas. Usually he decodes the message, interprets it for meaning, and encodes or sends back a response. Thus, communication is a circular process of interaction (see Figure 2).

(3) Behavioral Communication

The communicator, whether an individual or a member of an organization, transmits many kinds of behavior. First, he communicates the intended message on both a verbal and non-verbal level. He also communicates unintended behavior or subconscious behavior on both a verbal and non-verbal level. In other words, communication at any level involves a whole complex of projections. The sender projects his image of self, his needs and wants, his values and standards, his expectations and ideals, his perception of people, things and situations. He literally projects himself - his thoughts, attitudes and opinions. In any message interpretation, the receiver must consider such factors in order to get the real meaning and intent of the message.

A prisoner, for example, who lacks confidence in himself, communicates this in a variety of ways, causing other convicts to receive this image as weakness and thus to take advantage of the man. A unit warden who thinks he is a "superior being" to those stupid prisoners, perhaps communicates this non-verbally and thus producing hostility in the prisoners. We influence the kinds of response we get from other humans.

For any given communication, the receiver will usually perceive it in terms of a total complex of meanings. The receiver will attempt to analyze a given communication to answer questions of intention, motivation, values and emotion on the part of the sender. Where these issues are not apparent, the receiver will tend to fill in the missing information to make the message more complete. When the message is ambiguous or intentionally obscured, the receiver will fill in information on the basis of his own past experience and situation

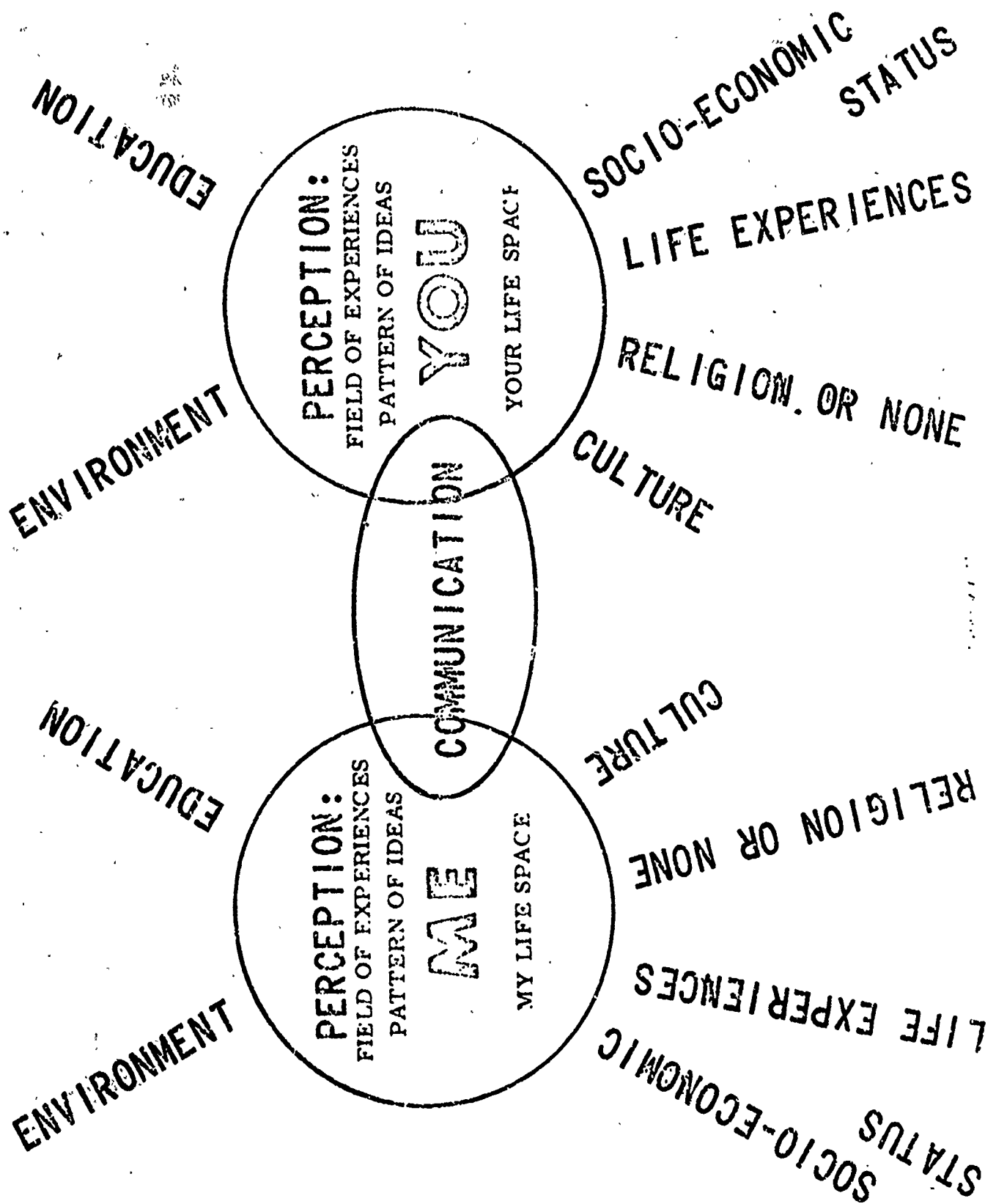


FIGURE 3

expectations. The receiver's interpretation of the sender's intent or motivation may or may not be accurate. However, when a receiver fills in this omitted information, the resulting interpretation and perception may cause action or reaction toward the message which was not intended by the sender. In fact, when these issues are not out in the open, as in attempts to influence the behavior or thought of another person, resistance to the communication tends to be heightened. As a result, defensive behavior may cause greater distortion of perception on the part of the receiver (see Figure 3). Furthermore, such defensive behavior, in turn, engenders defensive listening, and this in turn may produce postural, facial, and verbal cues which raise the defense level of the original communicator. Thus, a circle of defensiveness interferes with communication and thus makes it difficult - if not impossible - for anyone to convey ideas clearly and to move effectively toward the solution of problems.

Communication can be complicated further by the receiver's image of himself, his needs and wants, values and standards, expectations and ideals, and perception of people, things and situations. What the receiver hears is partially determined by these factors.

Another important aspect of this concept of behavioral communication is that individuals form images not only of themselves as persons, but of their role and their organization. If a professional in the criminal justice system wished to improve his communication with both offenders, staff, and public, he might begin by reviewing his image of his "role" as a prison administrator or guard, police or probations officer. Once our image of the role has changed, then we will tend to act or behave in accord with that new image. The same is true of our vocational field and organization. Formerly, the prison was perceived as a place of custody to "punish" prisoners; this negative image is now giving way to a concept incarceration for true rehabilitation, so that the offender against society's laws and regulations can be helped and returned to a productive life.

WHY COMMUNICATION FAILS

Many attempts to improve communication fail because leaders have not considered communication as a highly complex and dynamic human process. Too often the form of communication (information) is mistaken for its substance (a complex inter-personal process of people relating to other people). Ineffective communications tend to emphasize techniques and devices for sending and regulating the flow and content of information throughout an organization. This pseudo information approach assumes communication to be primarily the responsibility of the sender, and as an influence process through which people can be changed, controlled, guided or influenced. The idea is that dialogue should take place with authentic communication- views, attitudes, etc., are exchanged.

Much attention is paid to media devices, refinement of the message, timing of presentations, public relations, visual aids, etc. Emphasis is placed upon getting the "facts" to the right people, informing subordinates about the goals of the organization, motivating people to work, seeing that people understand what it is management is trying to do, getting the message across, etc. This approach tends to assume that information will change attitudes and behavior, and that information can be reliably transmitted through formal channels.

The facts are that information approaches to organizational communications usually accomplish considerably less than leaders would hope. Information alone does not necessarily change attitudes, value systems or perceptions. People tend to perceive information or reinterpret data in the direction of their motivation and wishes. People hear what they want to hear. They forget what they want to forget. In short, people select from available information, over-react or under-react, and add their own distortions to the information received.

This "one-way" or unilateral" information approach to communication assumes a completely active sender and a completely passive receiver; it assumes that the sender knows what the receiver hears, and how the receiver feels about and interprets what he hears.

Unfortunately, military type organizations in the past tended toward one way (downward) communication systems in which the emphasis was largely information. Admiral Zumwalt has demonstrated an interesting change in such organizational communications with "Z" gram which offers an alternate means for Navy personnel to communicate with top command. Perhaps the time has come for "P" grams to permit better communications between a warden and a prisoner?

* Rarely are receivers of communications passive, rarely do they hear all that was communicated, rarely do they perceive the facts as intended. Rather, receivers of communication interpret information in light of their own needs, values, viewpoint and motivation. Communication not only involves the message, but it also involves a highly complex relationship between sender and receiver. It involves emotion and feeling, as well as topic or task on the part of both sender and receiver.

The leader who concentrates on the task level of communication in a work operations, and neglects the emotional level, often fails in human relationships. He minimizes the people maintenance aspects of effective communication. A man who is emotionally upset, for example, is not likely to get the full significance of another person's communication.

There are many barriers to successful communication which a sensitive communicator must strive to overcome. In addition to those pointed out above,

there may be the normal differences in culture, rank or job, age, race, religion, social status, nationality, value system and language. Finally, there are obstacles to communication which may arise from lack of intelligence, impaired vision or auditory skills, inadequate time, illness and fatigue. It is more than worth the effort to cope with the challenges inherent in ordinary human communication. For improper communication can inhibit personal growth for both sender and receiver - Ideas of value may remain unshared or at least not fully appreciated.

What are some of the barriers to good, open communications in the criminal justice system? This can be analyzed from these viewpoints:

(a) between the organization and the public; (b) among the members of a staff or institution; (c) between staff and prisoners/parolees; (d) among the prisoners/parolees themselves. The very "position" of a guard is something of a barrier to effective communication with prisoner. How could a change of attitude or approach improve the situation?

CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD COMMUNICATION

(1) Availability - the message is received through the senses; the more human powers involved, the better the chance for retention of the message. The communicator can facilitate the process by checking whether the message can be seen or heard or touched, whether it should be repeated by writing, as well as orally transmitted.

(2) Contrast - the message must be able to stand out and compete with other messages. Therefore, it must be vital, relevant, and well timed, not colorless or indifferent. When speaking, for instance, a monotone is as ineffective as talking too loudly or overloading the message. The tone of voice can aid or hinder effective communication.

(3) Reward - the receiver is more attentive to the message when its presentation is linked to the satisfaction of some personal need, as the physical need for food or the psychological need for security.

(4) Appropriateness - the sensitive communicator uses the language, signs, and other communication symbols which are suitable to the person receiving the message and the circumstances at the time of sending. Thus, words suitable with colleagues may not be appropriate with prisoners or actions fitting in the home may not be acceptable in the prison and vice versa. Words can also be misused by individuals as "weapons" to cause fear and compliance, to shock or disarm.

(5) Efficiency - serious formal communications, such as in criminal justice work, require preparation so that the maximum amount of information is transmitted in the minimum time; planning and preparation will prevent the wasting of time in the actual communication. All communication will normally benefit by conciseness and preciseness.

(6) Flexibility - communicators must be able to handle the unexpected, to adapt their message to ever-changing situations and people. This requires resourcefulness and creativity as opposed to rigidity and stereotype communication. Feedback from receivers, for example, requires adaptation by the sender in his message or media.

When a communicator neglects such factors, there may be a breakdown in communication. Thus, the gulf between sender and receiver may widen. When a communicator is mindful of these characteristics, he builds a bridge to the other person's world. He attempts to reduce the physical or psychological distance between himself and the receiver.

GUIDELINES FOR IMPROVING ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION

With the above discussion in mind, some guidelines are presented that will help the professional to foster better inter-personal and intergroup communications within his organization.

(1) Sensitivity to Feedback - indications are constantly being given by receivers as to how the communication is coming across, whether it is being heard clearly, offensive or inoffensive, acceptable or unacceptable, interesting or boring, meaningful or irrelevant. The sender must be aware of these subtle cues regarding his message, and adapt it according to the reception afforded. Distortion on the part of both listener and receiver can be reduced by the careful use of this feedback. If the sender cannot sense the subtle cues being fed back to him by the receiver, or if these cues indicate a lack of complete understanding; then the sender should request a playback from the receiver as to what he thinks he hears or believes is missing from the communication. The sender can then modify his message in terms the receiver can understand. It is also vital for the receiver of feedback to check its validity with others if possible.

(2) Projection of Acceptance - recognition of another's being - his needs, rights, feelings - and his essential human dignity are involved in the concept of acceptance. The sender should communicate respect for the receiver's personhood and his integrity as an independent being. He should demonstrate the capacity to separate the unique person from his actions, thus making it possible to evaluate the latter without rejecting or threatening the individual. Acceptance, or its opposite rejection, can be communicated by one's bearing toward another, tone of voice, eye and eyebrow movements, touch and gesture. Acceptance demonstrates confidence in others, permitting them to have confidence in themselves and to involve themselves in deeper communication. A prisoner, at the very least, can be accepted as a fellow human being.

Although acceptance is essential for establishing a supportive climate which opens the channel of communication, defensiveness closes the door of communication, for it threatens the ego of the receiver. Figure 3 provides a defense model of communication developed by psychologist Jack Gibb, and points up the preferred direction for effective communication on the right side of the illustration.

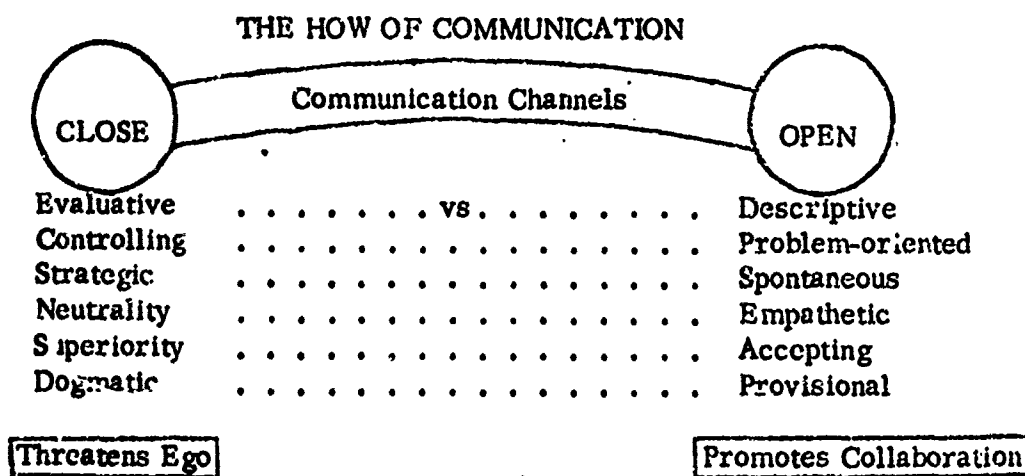


Figure 4

(3) Endavoring to Listen - because of the receiver's perception filters, he may screen out what the sender is trying to communicate, or he may listen selectively. In conversation, for example, one must try to place himself in the other's position to listen for the meaning that may lie behind the words. Too often one listens only partially and fails to give attention to the sender. Sometimes assumptions are made about the sender which are incorrect and interfere with the listening process. LISTENING requires more than concentration; it involves sensitivity to the feelings which are being communicated by another. Silence may also play a vital role in oral communication, so the listener must allow its expression, lest he interrupt the process by replying too quickly. Careful listening may also detect a problem of semantics in language, when the same word has different meanings to the sender and the receiver and causes confusion.

(4) Awareness of Communication Systems - just as one should be aware of the dynamics at work within interpersonal and intragroup communications, so too should the sender be conscious of certain realities in intergroup communications. The accompanying bibliography will provide some useful references regarding group dynamics and organization theory.

It is helpful to analyze the communication systems functioning within organizations. Basically, one can envision both a formal and an informal system which operates both internally and externally. If one studies an organization's total system of communicating with its personnel and its publics, these types of information channels may be observed:

- a) the official lines of communication for sending and receiving data which usually parallels the organization chart - it employs memos, bulletin board announcements, letters, reports, posters, telephone calls, personal or group meetings. Policy, plans, programs, and procedures are transmitted through these usual channels.
- b) the unofficial system of communication which may come about through work relationships in the same unit; or social relations because people come from the same part of the city, possibly commuting together to work; or the grapevine - the rumor channel. People within organizations group together for a variety of reasons - they graduate from the same college, have similar interests or skills, belong to the same union or social club, have comparable positions in the staff or line position of the corporation. Whatever the reasons, these relationships provide opportunities to pass along information and influence opinion. In addition, the grapevine may get its biggest input of data at the coffee break, the lunch hour or during visits to the rest rooms.

When the official lines of communication are open and circular, rather than closed or simply downward, there is less likelihood of distortions in the informal system. When management levels with its employees and provides adequate information, there is less need for personnel to fill in the gaps with misinformation. Sometimes management can even use the informal system to feed data to its people which it does not wish to publish officially.

The above (a & b) consists of the formal/informal systems of communications. They can also be analyzed from both the viewpoint of internal and external communications:

(c) the internal communications consist of the official and unofficial communications which take place among the staff and with the prisoners. If effective communications exist within a correctional facility, then this will serve as a prevention to rumors, riots and abnormal hostile behavior. As long as the lines of internal communication are open and people can exchange their feelings and ideas, tension within the institution will be reduced.

(d) the external system of communication is directed to the general public and in particular to the taxpayer. It also includes supplies, those in mass media, community resources, and organizations, and families of both prisoners and staff. The formal aspects of this system are concerned about letterhead on stationery, logo or institutional symbol, appearance of publications, clarity of message, the way the telephone calls are handled, good will and public relations. Too often the communicator overlooks the fact that an organizational image is not only transmitted in these ways, but also informally - attitude and appearance of employees, quality of service, tastefulness of signs and directions, and community service by personnel. Once the communicator identifies the various elements now functioning in these various systems, he is in a position to correct and improve organizational communications.

(5) Utilizing New Media Technology - modern communications offers a wide variety of new technology which can be employed to improve organizational technology. These range from knowledge of group dynamics to computers to closed circuit television. The modern prison may become a communications center. It is conceivable that a warden in a prison could have a communications console with a television monitor of all public areas in which prisoners gather; or the means to communicate for audio/view contact with each prisoner in his "cell"; or a portable communications unit that permits guards to keep in contact with one another and each other. Prison programming and record keeping could be maintained by computers. Prison training could be given by teaching machines.

Conclusion

The sharing of oneself takes place in communication. The communicator shares his way of life, thinking, believing and acting with another human. That is why the receiver must be willing and able to receive the gift of another and to exchange something of himself in turn. When true two-way communication takes place between people and organizations, both are changed in the process. The good communicator in a group promotes learning on the part of the receiver; he assists the other person to broaden his field of experiences and to integrate new knowledge into his existing pattern of ideas.

If communication symbols fail to evoke the proper response, then substitutes must be found until the message has life and meaning. In effect, the communicator must personalize his message to each unique receiver. Different communication styles thus become necessary at various stages of human development, at different times and places, and with different personalities.

Furthermore, when one enters into communication, responsibilities are assumed, and they increase as the number of persons is enlarged for whom the message is intended. A sensitive communicator will make every attempt to fulfill his part of the communication obligation, and then make allowances for any deficiencies or differences on the part of the receiver.

In summary, communication is a complex process which is the core of human relationships. It is not simply talking loud or long enough, or providing minimum information to seduce a listener to the sender's viewpoint. Rather it should involve dialogue which means entering into the private world of another unique individual or group of persons; it is a mutual exchange.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
INSTITUTE FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE
PERSONNEL

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1971

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FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS: Maintenance Behavior

Group _____

Date _____

Instructions: Write names of individuals in spaces below; make a check under the name of that person closest to acting out those items listed; when the group has completed its work, the chart can give them a picture of how each individual contributed to the group task.

Member Behavior Required for Building and Maintaining the Group as a Working Unit

	Names of Individuals Observed						
1. Encouraging: Being friendly, warm and responsive to others; accepting others and their contributions; regarding others by giving them an opportunity or recognition.							
2. Expressing group feelings: Sensing feeling, mood, relationships within the group; sharing his own feeling or affect with other members.							
3. Harmonizing: Attempting to reconcile disagreements; reducing tensions through "pouring oil on troubled waters"; getting people to explore their differences.							
4. Compromising: When his own idea or status is involved in a conflict, offering to compromise his own position; admitting error, disciplining himself to maintain group cohesion.							
5. Gate-keeping: Attempting to keep communication channels open; facilitating the participation of others; suggesting procedures for sharing opportunity to discuss group problems.							

FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS: Task BehaviorGroup _____
Date _____

Instructions: Write names of individuals in spaces below; make a check under the name of that person closest to acting out those items listed on the left; when the group has completed its work, the chart can give a picture of how each individual contributed to the group task.

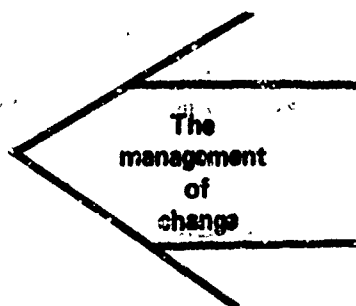
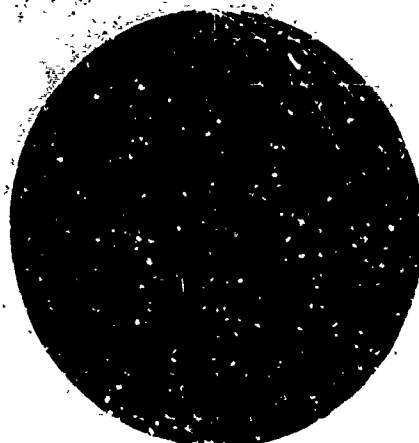
Member Behavior Required for Doing Group Work

Names of Individuals Observed							
1. Initiating: Proposing tasks or goals; defining a group problem; suggesting a procedure or ideas for solving problem.							
2. Information or opinion seeking: Requesting facts; seeking relevant information about a group concern, asking for suggestions and ideas.							
3. Information or opinion giving: Offering facts; providing relevant information about group concern, stating a belief, giving suggestions or ideas.							
4. Clarifying or elaborating: Interpreting or reflecting ideas and suggestions; clearing up confusions; indicating alternatives and issues before the group; giving examples.							
5. Summarizing: Pulling together related ideas; restating suggestions after group has discussed them; offering a decision or conclusion for the group to accept or reject.							

1

LEARNING MODULE IV

OVERCOMING
COMMUNICATION
OBSTACLES
AMONG CONFINEEES AND STAFF



MANAGEMENT AND
ORGANIZATION
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*This article was developed by Dr. David C. Wigglesworth for military *
*correctional personnel in his capacity as a consultant for Management & *
Organization Development, Inc. on ONR Project N000-14-71-C-0332/Phase One.
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69

COMMUNICATION

Communication has been defined by some as the culture of the species. All art forms, gestures, facial expressions, language, action and reactions, indeed all areas of human activity seem to be an attempt by man to communicate. We are concerned today with basic communication between individuals, but must include in our analysis a review of the various ways in which man communicates to man, the processes involved, and the results of the communicative interaction. Most people seem to think that they communicate effectively and that in general they are understood. However, in reality, much of most messages is lost in terms of their original intent because of a variety of factors, including the frame of references of the listener, the degree of accuracy in listening, the interpretation of key words within the communication, the silent language

noticed during the communication and the tone of voice and inflection of the speaker.

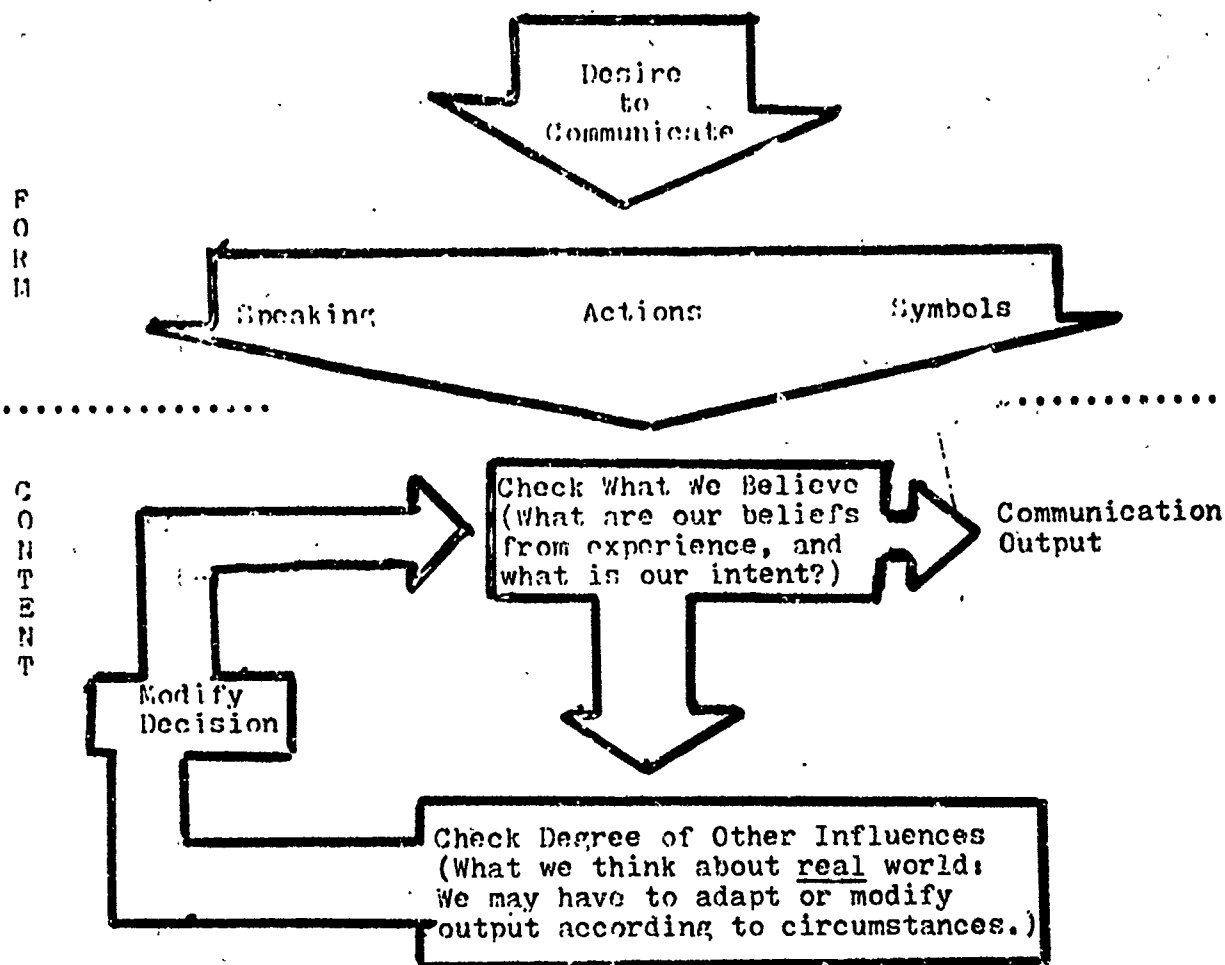


Figure One

From figure one you should be able to determine the ways we use to express ourselves, the ways which result in a communication output. Obviously, the illustration oversimplifies the communication process. What it says is that once we decide to communicate, we choose one of

three paths; we can express ourselves through speaking, through actions, or through the use of symbols. Usually, we think, subconsciously and most rapidly, of the possible paths we can take, rationalize our choice, and then act upon our decision. This type of thinking can be called mental rehearsal. Communications of all kinds have first a form, then a certain amount of content. We can begin to understand much about the meaning of a communication we receive if we can first become sensitive to the content and then try to get a feeling as to the reason for the form selected by the communicator.

If we hesitate before making the communication, it's usually because during the rehearsal we may get second thoughts. We may not continue to believe in the advantage of what was selected as the initial form or content of the limited output.

For instance, you may have repeatedly requested one of your prisoners to keep his bed neat and orderly. On this occasion, you happen to pass by and find the bed completely messed up. You decide to remind him again; on second thought you rip the bed apart and pile the sheets, etc. on the floor. The content of the action is the same as that for a verbal communication - - the desire for a neat and orderly bed. The form of the communication is more dramatic - - a rejection of the use of spoken requests and a visual demonstration expressing a desire and need.

Research into human behavior tells us there are three basic drives or pressures which underlie people's behavior: the drive (1) to survive; (2) to reproduce; and (3) to gain recognition. We feel another one could be added -- the drive to communicate.

In early childhood the desire to express himself is given direction by the child's awareness of the things around him. He also learns to respond to communication by acting according to the coaxing of parents or others. Of course, subsequent contact with his environment, in and out of school, keeps refining this ability to take part in what we might call two-way communication. The process of communication is such a necessary and constant ingredient of living that we tend to act upon, or react to, communication without giving much thought as to what transpires when we speak with each other.

Each individual's background is unique. Each of countless inputs has been stored and related to others in very special ways; the total impact of experience on one person is unlike that on anyone else. When you think about the wide range of possible social and ethnic backgrounds, and the innumerable combinations of personal experiences possible even within a limited environment, you begin to understand the enormous range of individual differences. To communicate successfully, we have to make assumptions about these ingredients --- the individual experiences which determine our own points of view and those which have influenced the other person.

All individuals have the same inherent communication system within them. While people have different reservoirs of experience, all of us are equipped with a faculty to think and to convey our thoughts. The form with which we choose to express ourselves and the decisions we make are dependent upon the nature of our learning experiences and our capacity to think and reason.

To communicate there must be a sender and a receiver, and this

suggests that there is a communication network. A network implies a combination of things tied together. We have a speaker and a listener. As soon as the listener hears the communication, the roles change. The listener becomes the sender and so on. Figure two illustrates what is transpiring.

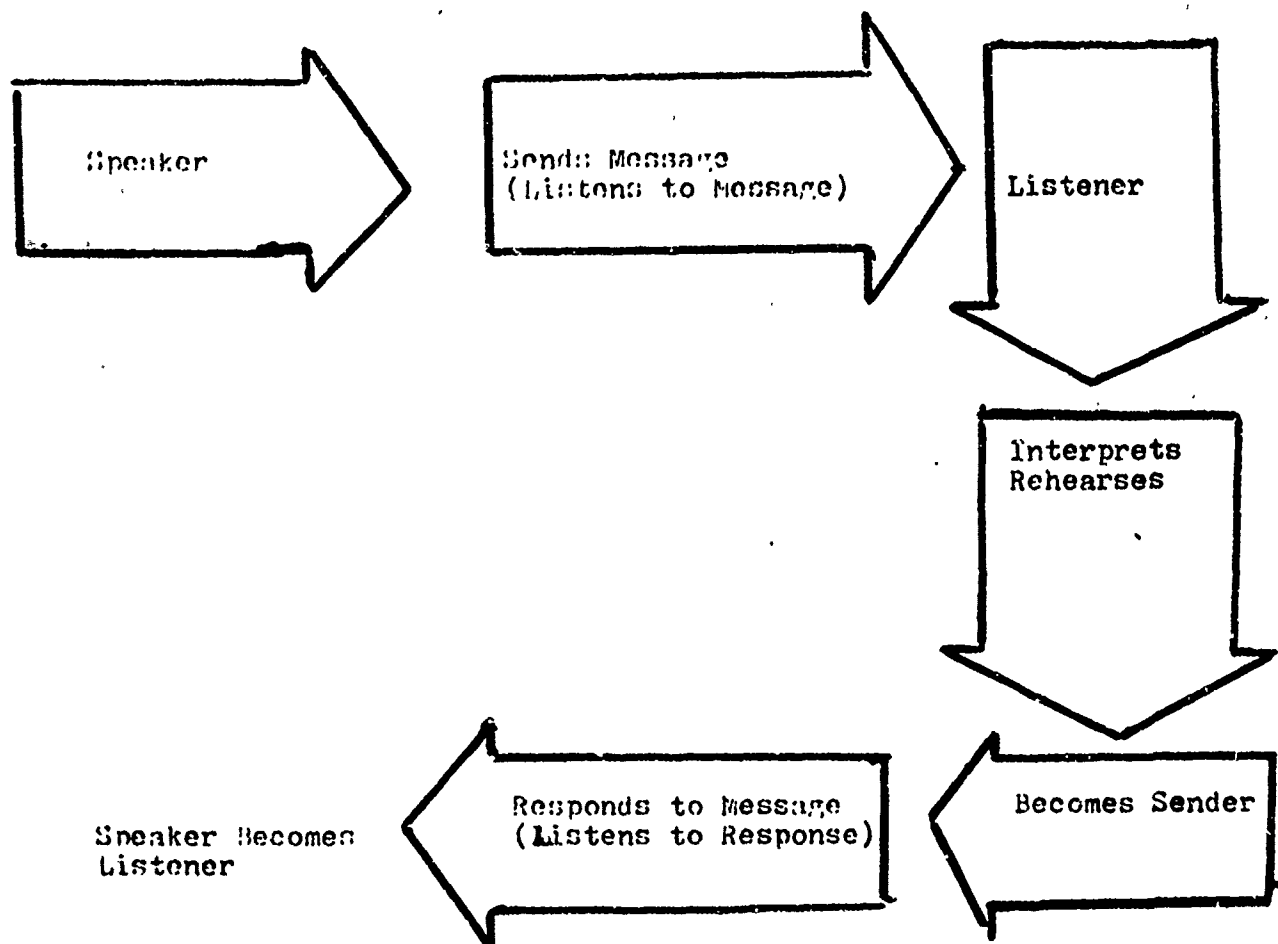


Figure Two

From this diagram we see that a communication between two people involves several things. The most obvious is that there is a message communicator (or sender) and a message recipient (or receiver). We can also see that these roles change. This then, is an example of interaction involving both audio and visual components.

Most of us think over (i.e. covert rehearsal) the ideas we have before expressing them. More than likely, we rehearse to ourselves what we plan to say to somebody because we are taking into account our own role and the relationship of the idea to ourselves. Further, we may even review how we will say it and go over in our minds the responses we expect to be returned to us from the receiver of our message. Undoubtedly this plan in abstract continues until the sender satisfies all his own questions. This concept is illustrated in figure three.

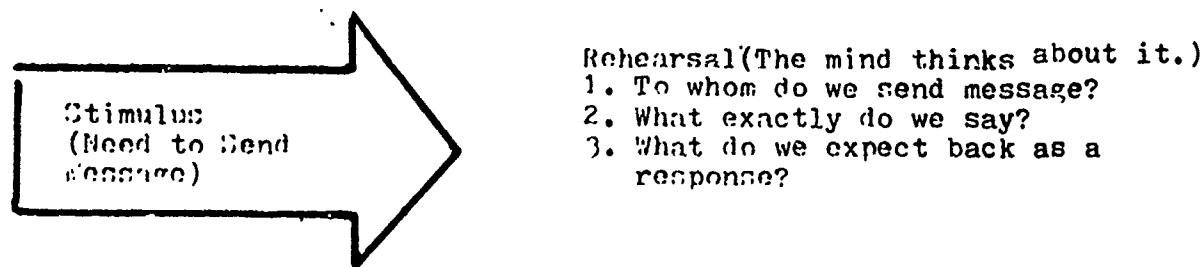


Figure Three

One of the few exceptions to this process is the message which is sent as a result of earlier rehearsals. By earlier rehearsals we mean a repetition of something which has been thought over for some time, evolved as an idea or conclusion and possibly actually expressed. The listener is getting only a rerun.

Another exception is the impulsive or emotional outburst which is sent as a result of some unexpected incident which upsets the sender's normal pattern of response. We are all familiar with this type of message and in the context of our network we call it a short circuit. Getting back to the mental rehearsal phenomenon. When we understand that the sender of a message rehearses his own role and concepts, and tries to anticipate the response of the listener, we can begin to understand what communication is about.

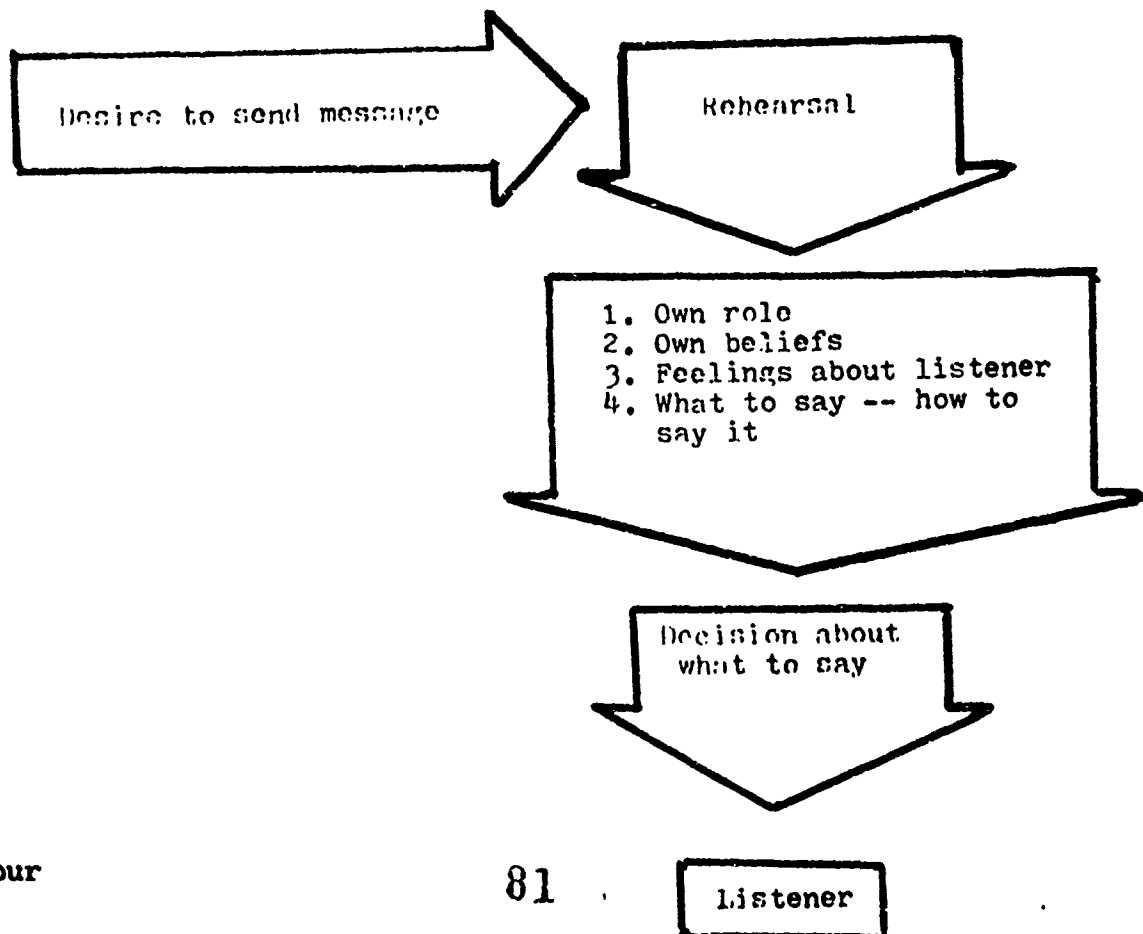


Figure Four

Figure four illustrates the communication process. The sender tries consciously or unconsciously to identify his role. By this we mean most of us have concepts about ourselves and relate these self-concepts to our concepts of others. Our role-playing constantly changes, all in terms of how we think we relate with the listener. As you well know a person thinks and acts differently when sending messages:

- (1) to a child, (2) to a person considered as an equal,
- (3) to a person with relatively less authority, (4) to a person with relatively more authority, (5) to a person of the opposite sex, (6) to a prisoner when one is a guard, etc.

In other words, the tendency is to accept a role for ourselves and assign roles to others. The messages we send are often based on the role assignments we give ourselves and the listener. This is probably particularly true with your situation.

When the speaker sends a message, he not only assumes a role, he reviews his concepts on the subject, and designs his approach according to his perception of the listener's role. Then he decides what is to be said and how to say it. The mind works very rapidly in these matters and can handle all of these variables while the voice is saying, "Harry, do you know what ...?"

Once the sender makes a determination about how to send the message, he may accompany the message with certain supporting mannerisms. Thus a message may come through in a joking manner or a serious one, or perhaps it may be delivered with a scowl. These supporting mannerisms give clues to the intent behind the message.

The sender of the message should understand what role he has assigned to the listener. It is only after the sender of the message has decided on the role of the listener that the "what to" elements of the message are addressed. Particularly when the sender of the message is concerned about the reception of the message, he casts the listener into some kind of a role. He is quickly deciding whether the listener is going to take an "acceptance" attitude or perhaps a "defiant" attitude.

The listener's part, too, has been learned from childhood. Most of us as children learned to respond to the desires communicated by our elders. We rehearsed to ourselves how we would respond to a teacher, for instance, even though we were not conscious of the process. By the time someone has reached the point of having a job of responsibility, as an average listener, he has probably reacted to a message in a manner similar to figure five.

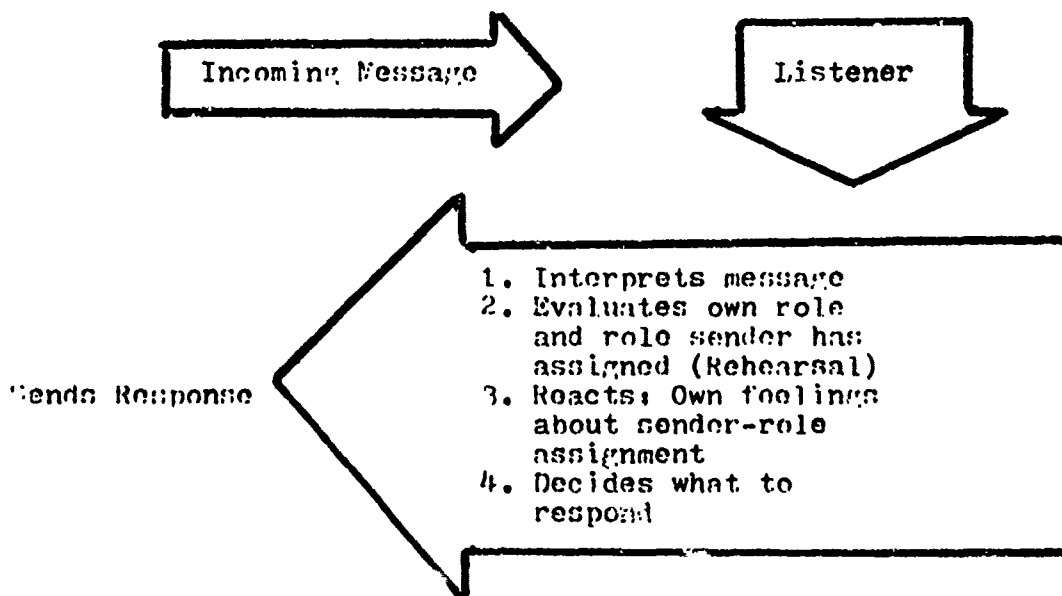


Figure Five

The listener's function in the communication loop has one basic difference beyond that of the speaker. The listener, having received the message, usually constructs a response. In so doing, the listener, just as the speaker, goes through a mental rehearsal, compares roles, and so forth. But the listener is almost always compelled to interpret the sender's message and come to some sort of a judgement or evaluation.

Let us recapitulate. Probably most of your decisions in working with the inmates are expressed verbally. Thus the verbal-decision-making process has a large, but unmeasureable, impact upon the entire conduct of your professional activities. Therefore, it is essential that we understand the various elements of "verbal communication" and how these elements affect the decision-making process.

One of our first observations was that behind practically all communications was some kind of intention. When a person singles you out as the one to whom he will deliver a message, you should make the natural assumption that he has a reason (or intent) behind his message. Some examples of what we describe as intentions are:

- to find the "truth"
- to change the other person's behavior
- to obtain feedback
- to persuade (his way -- some way)

The communication between two persons has a sender-receiver relationship. An awareness of what is really transpiring during the dialogue between one person and another is the essential basis for understanding the communication process. When someone decides to communicate, a series of events takes place. You must realize that the probability is strong that those communication sequences are happening.

EH

Such a realization will re-enforce your ability to comprehend the message. It is equally important to understand what is not being communicated.

Continuing to recapitulate, we can see that these communication sequences have been simplified by dividing the desire to communicate into two elements. These elements consist of the form and the content of the communication. A communication can take place in one of three forms: (1) through actions, (2) through speaking, or (3) through the use (or application) of symbols. The content of the message is based on the resources of one's experiences (belief state), usually modified by intentions and outside influences. It is obvious that much of what is said and how it is said can be more readily understood if an insight to the appropriate contents of the individual's experience reservoir can be obtained.

An interesting phenomenon is that most communications are rehearsed. The rehearsal is a mental act: the mind goes over what is to be said, how it will be said, probable responses, the speaker's and listener's roles (as the speaker envisions them), etc. The assignment of roles has much to do with both the form and content of a message. Once this has been decided, the rest of the rehearsal is conditioned. The way the sender sees his own role and the role of the receiver, influences what he says, how he says it, and consequently how the other person interprets his attitude and meaning.

The listener has time to rehearse also. While a message is being conveyed, the listener anticipates (1) the content of the message, (2) analyzes and reacts to the roles which the speaker seems to have assigned, and (3) rehearses an answer. A good listener also has time to

consider possible ramifications about what was not said, for one reason or another, by the speaker.

There seems to be an interrelation between intentions, assumptions, and role assignments. For instance, the speaker's intention might be to impress you with his knowledge about a certain subject. Let's say he also assumes you will be receptive and need to be impressed. He may want to impress you to re-enforce his own need for a feeling of superiority, or he may simply be trying to establish himself as an expert on the subject matter. He assigns roles based upon his evaluation of you as either superior, peer, or subordinate. If he is wise and experienced, he sends the message in a manner most likely to be accepted by you in one of these roles. Role assignments which are inappropriate can make the listener feel that he is being talked down to or, on the other hand, is being insincerely flattered, either of which can lead to anger or mistrust.

Intentions can arise as a result of outside pressures which place the speaker in a defensive position. Being on the defensive causes some people to stretch the truth or make a deliberate misrepresentation. Such situations often arise and if you detect a defensive posture by someone's "explaining the situation" by all means search for the facts and don't settle for anything less.

Words and statements can have a range of meanings. The computer scientist, explaining to the layman the components of a problem, is often misunderstood. This same scientist, speaking to another computer scientist, can communicate his reasoning precisely. Putting the message into words understandable by the layman may lessen the preciseness of the message, thus it is essential to work out common grounds of understanding.

It is wise to listen carefully to what is being said and to avoid taking an unalterable position. It is equally wise not to obey first impulses. Keeping control of the situation by reviewing alternatives is the better method.

Unalterable positions can prove to be very troublesome. It is better to avoid them unless you find yourself with no other resource. If you give an ultimatum or take an either/or position, you will have no leeway for compromise or alternatives.

Every now and then circumstances place us in a position which stretches our tolerance and our patience. All of us have been there and "lost our cool." When your patience is being stretched beyond its normal limits (and usually your experience will give you ample warning when this tolerance point is reached), it is best to take command. You can always be in control if you, in fact, control yourself. Emotional outbursts and letting off steam can be very therapeutic under some conditions, but are seldom appropriate in a professional situation. If you do let yourself go, be sure you have a very good reason for it. You may be putting yourself at a disadvantage in terms of respect, because emotional statements usually are unnecessary and are apt to be strongly biased your way. One fact is certain, moreover, if you allow yourself to blow off steam, you will have turned off meaningful communication, at least for the time being.

It is most unusual to find two people who see things exactly alike. In the first place, no two of us have identical learning experiences, and our judgements are influenced by what we have learned to believe. Some of our decisions are based upon what we think we heard someone tell us. Such communication obviously is influenced by a person's belief state and

his ability to hear (or listen to) what is being related. In many cases the reliability of statements upon which we may have to make quick decisions must be checked through utilizing feedback.

It is clear that we must develop the ability to listen --- listen with much patience, and we shall explore this a bit later in more detail. Only through listening can we detect what is behind a message. We must develop the ability to determine not only the value of what is being said, we must be sensitive to what is not being said. During all of the listening we will have time to frame our response and weigh a few pros and cons. We will have time to think of the roles involved and the reaction to the speaker's role-casting (if it applies). Careful and sensitive listening is probably the most important key to intelligent decision-making through the verbal communication process.

A thing to avoid during the listening process is the tendency to make a personal evaluation, because such evaluations are largely influenced by what roles we assign the speaker. If a subordinate makes a statement we are less inclined to listen than we are if a superior does. We should try to tune in to any person who directs a communication to us. It is always rewarding for the person to whom you are listening, when you are attentive to his message. People have a feel for, or a way of knowing, the level of attention they are getting from their communication. By not listening, you can turn someone off. If you don't get the whole message, you may be depriving yourself of essential facts.

Decision-making, based upon verbal communications, is influenced by our level of confidence in the communication. Some of us have the tendency to hear something, make a decision, and act upon it. We don't

necessarily fault such actions, particularly when time is of the essence. When time permits, we advocate a policy of deferred judgement.

To review briefly, then, there are many instances when a message is delivered which seems to demand a forthright decision and immediate action. In our experience, very few of these situations are critically urgent. You do have time to weigh your decision. Various alternatives may be available to you. You should back off from the apparent urgency of the situation and evaluate the facts as you understand them.

Learning to defer judgement can be very rewarding. It helps you to control impulses, to get and examine as many facts as possible, to consider various alternatives, and to make a well-balanced decision.

Communication frustration reveals a felt threat and the thought "that the other side must understand". This can result in communications deadlocks where only non-evaluative or open minded listening can be used to break the deadlock.

While it is impossible to keep the human or personal element out of your observations and communications, it must be your constant effort to reduce it to a minimum. This implies that you must distinguish what actually happened (observed fact) from how the fact impressed you (interpretation or meaning of the fact).

For present purposes we may think of observed fact as precept -- something seen, heard, smelled, touched, or tasted. As a rough criterion, whatever an actor or individual directly conveys is observable. If he strides up and down, we actually observe a "nervous manner".

Similarly, we can observe an individual's happy smile or puzzled frown. These are the basic materials of observation.

In reacting to such facts however, we must invariably indulge in a certain amount of interpretation. Several levels of interpretation may be usefully distinguished.

The Ladder of Factuality

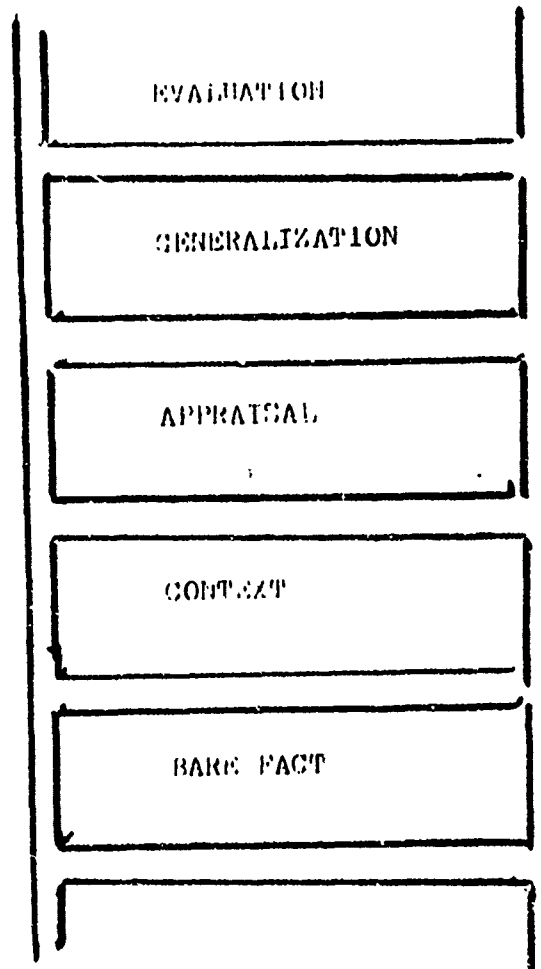
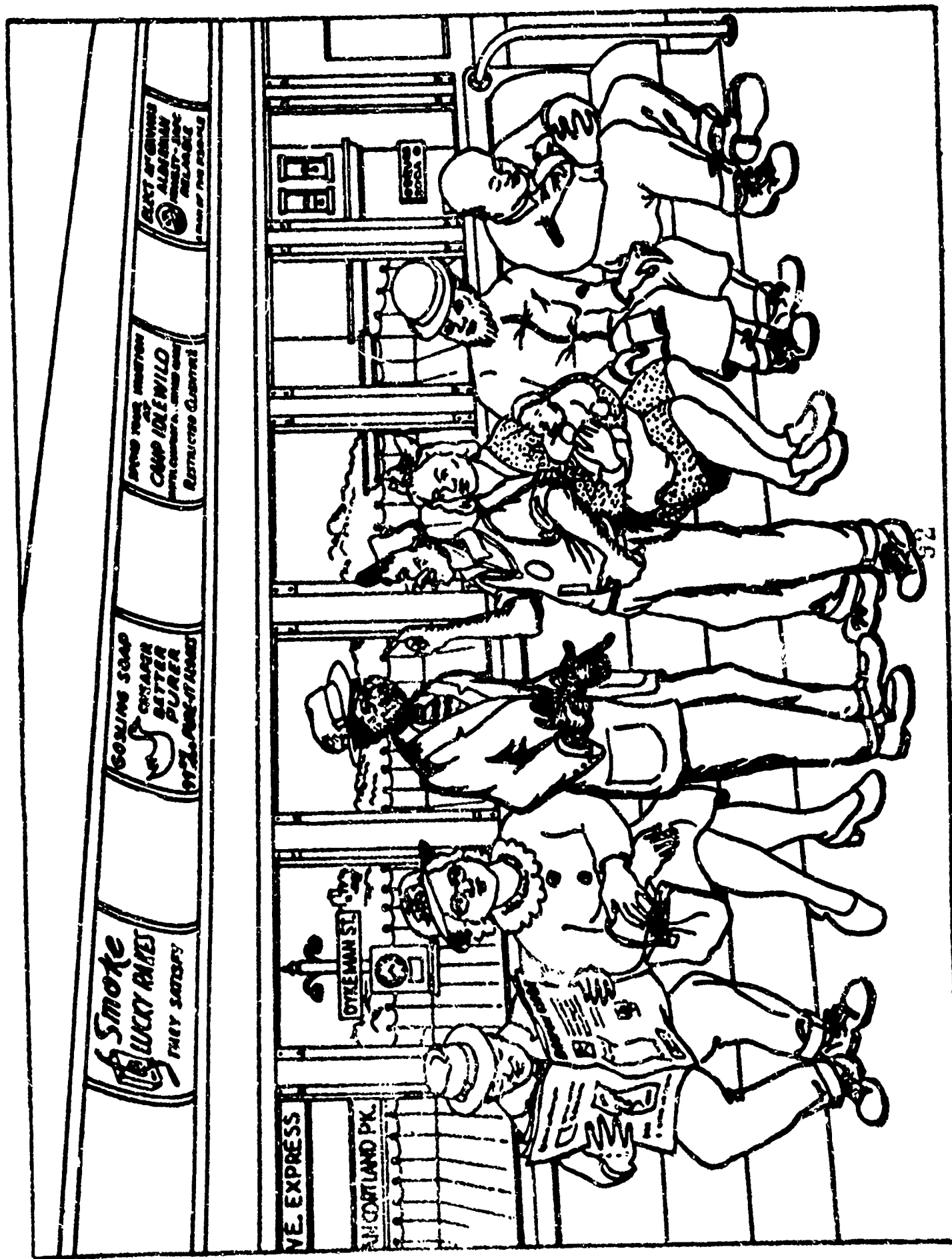


Figure Six

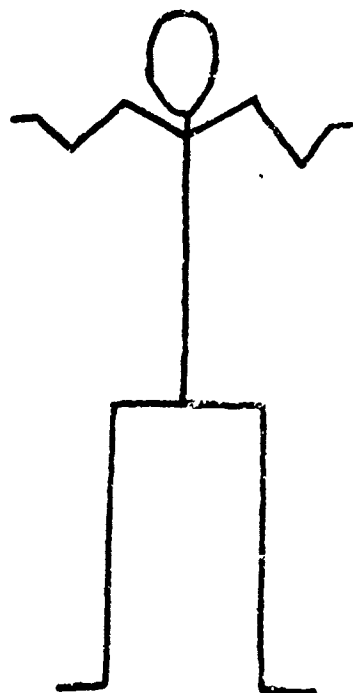
1. He replied, when his mother spoke to him, in a very cross tone. (Bare Fact)
2. He was irritated by the interruption to his work. (Context)

3. Besides that, his mother tends to nag him quite a lot and that makes him snappy in his replies. (Appraisal)
4. This habit of making cross replies is getting to be general; he might be described as a cross or surly boy. (Generalization)
5. No wonder he is unpopular. (Evaluation)

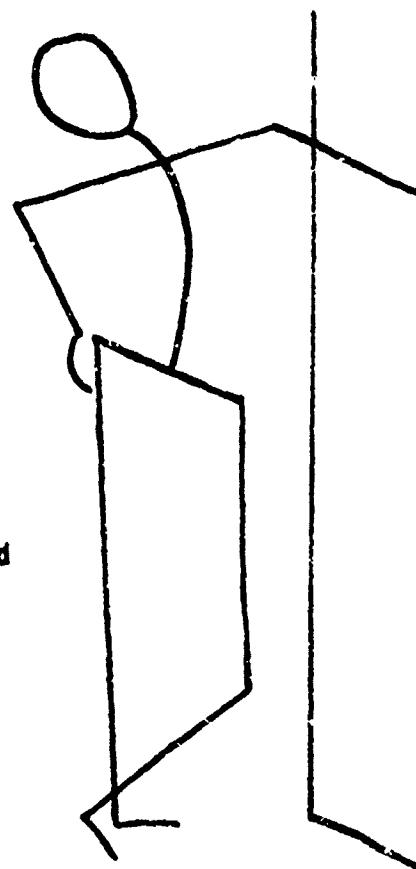
Looking at figure six, The Ladder of Factuality, we find a scale of closeness to the immediate facts. The first statement is reasonably factual. You observed a cross tone. The second statement goes beyond the bare fact, but the explanation of the fact is stated in terms of the immediate setting of the event and is necessary if the event is to have any meaning. This is the context interpretation. The third statement goes beyond the immediate situation; it is an appraisal in terms of quite a number of facts which have previously been observed. The fourth statement even more obviously goes beyond the immediate facts and implies enough observation to warrant a judgement that the behavior is habitual. This may be called a generalization from the facts. The last statement involves us in another theory and obviously implies moral and social evaluation as well.



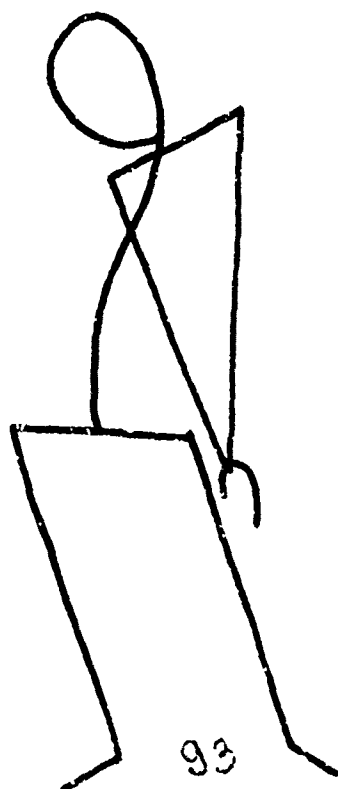
_____ disinterested
 _____ describing
 _____ resigned
 _____ doubtful
 _____ questioning



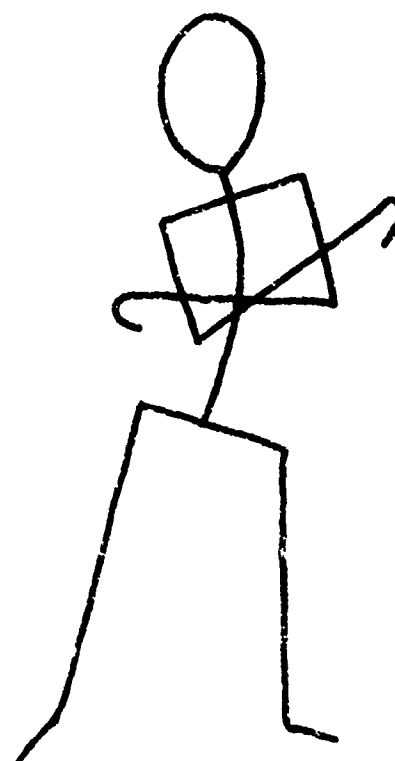
_____ self-satisfied
 _____ impatient
 _____ describing
 _____ casual
 _____ angry



_____ shy
 _____ self-conscious
 _____ ashamed
 _____ modest
 _____ sad



_____ surprised
 _____ dominating
 _____ suspicious
 _____ undecided
 _____ aloof



LEARNING MODULE V

CREATIVE
APPROACHES
TO CONFLICT
RESOLUTION
AMONG CONFINEEES AND STAFF

SOURCES OF CONFLICT FOR MILITARY CORRECTIONAL STAFF

The military correctional staff involved in this Office of Naval Research project identified the following sources of conflict relative to their structure and role:

1. Bureaucracy of the Organization:
 - a. Limited opportunities for staff to operate independently and creatively
 - b. Complexity of the military system as it relates to corrections work
 - c. Impersonalization of the system
 - d. Scheduling that is too rigid and tight (limits communication with confinees)
 - e. Confusing organizational communications (chain of command causing conflicting and confusing demands on staff)
2. Excessive Administrative Burden (that detract from their correctional function):
 - a. Submission of reports, paperwork, etc., as part of the military procedure
 - b. Additional duties, responsibilities in the Marine Corps which limit their commitment to the corrections role
3. Fiscal and Physical Inadequacy:
 - a. Limited money for correctional programs for inmate rehabilitation
 - b. Inadequate facilities (except for Camp Pendleton) and equipment
 - c. Untrained/undertrained personnel
 - d. Lack of cooperation from supporting units
 - e. Lack of command, interest (until recently) in the problems of the military base brig

(continued -

4. The Role Each Man Now Plays in the Correction Facility:
 - a. Rank- can be barrier among both confinees and staff
 - b. Position - need for redefinition and job enrichment (these can also delimit innovative correctional efforts, especially relative to the duty men have- their function is too narrowly defined)
5. Attitude Barriers (also caused by emotional or personality differences):
 - a. Staff to prisoners (negativeness of "short timers")
 - b. Confinee to staff
 - c. Military toward correctional staff
 - d. Prisoners toward themselves - negative and uncaring - seemingly they do not want to help; negative influence of peers on each other
6. Military Life Style (as now practiced may be a deterrent to the attaining of correctional goals):
 - a. Dependency on the group/organization- reduces individuality and sense of personal responsibility
 - b. Creates a formal environment that can handicap counseling and rehabilitative efforts and inhibit rapport between staff and inmates of the correctional facility
7. Reward/Punishment System:
 - a. Lack of an adequate rewards system for prisoners who behave or work well
 - b. Over emphasis on punitive, disciplinary approach

(continued)

8. Rehabilitative Program:
 - a. Lack of planned, meaningful work and education program for inmates that challenge personal growth
 - b. Emphasis more on confinement and security, rather than "corrections" and reintegration program
 - c. Program lack of supportive family relationships for confinees (conjugal visits)
9. Cultural/Perceptual Barriers (staff concerns or misinterpretations caused by differences in):
 - a. Race/nationality
 - b. Hair/appearances
 - c. Stereotyping prisoner- distorted generalizations
10. Morale (individual staff members who lack interest or motivation on their jobs because):
 - a. Forced assignment to corrections
 - b. Narrowness of vision and lack of skill in corrections work
 - c. Overwhelmed by demands of complex, military system on correctional personnel
 - d. Sense of helplessness and frustration relative to changing the present system
11. Inadequate Correctional Practice:
 - a. Improper or rigid interpretation of military corrections manual
 - b. Invalid or inappropriate diagnostic and treatment program
 - c. Ignoring or overlooking small symptoms of larger problems or real causes of difficulties

(continued -

12. Media Input - prisoner frustration and peace of mind can be heightened or further disturbed by information or influence of:
 - a. Radio
 - b. Television and movies
 - c. Underground newspapers
13. Rapid Change- the military correctional system finds it difficult to keep a pace with:
 - a. Changing attitudes and values
 - b. Changing society and environment
 - c. Changing personnel for staff or confinement
 - d. Changing concepts about the Marines
14. Pressures from within Staff Personnel Needs:
 - a. Desires for self-fulfillment, career recognition, social acceptance - individual need system (Maslow hierarchy)
 - b. Human compassion- desire of individual corrections person to be helpful to prisoners who are fellow Marines in need- such desires sometime conflict with organization policy or practice (e.g., fraternization with prisoners)

The Impact of Emotionality

Problem Solving*

We are in debt to the psychoanalytic writings and to the theories of personality developed by general psychology for the concepts of work and emotionality. The basic notion in these concepts is that a person or a group has a certain amount of energy available for coping with the reality situation. Work is the application of thought and effort towards dealing with the reality situation in a productive manner, that is, in a manner which will lead to the attainment of goals and the satisfaction of desires. Emotionality refers to the feeling content, the mood, or affect accompanying existence.

Thinking in this way, we can formulate the model. Basically, the notion which has been developed is that the emotionality of a person or a group can enhance or impair the work of the person or group. The feelings experienced by a person or a group may, in other words, aid or harm the ability to cope productively with the reality situation. In the psychoanalytic metaphor, when the emotionality and the application of thought and effort toward the achievement of the goal are intertwined like the strands of a rope, we have the optimum productivity and the optimum satisfaction. When the strands are separated or pulling in a divergent direction, we have impairment of the ability to work and to find satisfaction. We call a person or a group which experiences the inability to organize its thoughts, feelings, and efforts toward the solution of problems unhealthy or, in the psychologists' jargon, "neurotic".

This model has the advantage of permitting us to deal simultaneously with problem-solving behavior (i. e. work) and feelings, an aspect of human existence which our training and thoughtways lead us peculiarly to disregard or to regard only as bad, undesirable, or interfering with work. Perhaps this reflects the primary concern of Western Civilization with the rational aspects of problem-solving behavior. This overemphasis on the rational and technical aspects of behavior has been reflected in the counterbalancing preoccupation of the human relations movement with the feeling and emotional aspects of behavior. Perhaps by dealing with both sides of the coin and by understanding the relationship between work and emotionality, we can come to a greater understanding of human relationships and a greater ability to cope adequately with the problems confronting us.

Various persons have attempted to conceptualize the problem-solving process, the rational aspect of work. One formulation is as follows:

1. A person or a group exist in a certain reality situation.
Problems develop in this existence of several kinds:

* Prepared by H. Baumgartel, The University of Kansas

- failure to achieve present goals
- formulation of new goals
- changes in the external situation
- conflicts within the internal situation

The first and perhaps crucial step is becoming aware of a problem.

2. The second step in the problem-solving process is the diagnostic or problem-identification phase. This represents, essentially, the application of reason toward the goal of comprehending the parts and their interrelationships--the identification of factors or "causes." The problem solving process can be more or less rational, that is following the rules of science--logic and empirical test--to a greater or less degree.
3. The third step in this cycle is that of deciding and planning the action to be taken. This step as well as the diagnostic step may require a redefinition of goals and objectives in the light of the circumstances involved.
4. The fourth step is the action, the carrying out of the plan. Both for persons and groups, many difficulties surround carrying the planned action into effect. People in the human relations field have been particularly concerned with the human problems of introducing desired changes.
5. The fifth step is the assessment of the consequences of the action in terms of the desired objectives of the action. Feedback or information on the effects of action is essential for appraising action. Feedback in terms of progress with the objective task and in terms of the feelings and desires of the person or the group are an essential part of the complete problem-solving process although we often stop short of feedback in both individual and social problem-solving.
6. The sixth step is essentially beginning again with feedback information to re-identify the problem, re-diagnose, re-plan re-execute action, and again re-appraise consequences. Thus, problem-solving is a continuous process.

Now it is obvious in this listing of steps in problem-solving that this is, in a sense, merely the application of the methods of reason and science toward the solution of problems. We in Western Civilization have, as has already been noted, become highly competent in the application of this approach toward the solution of the technical problems in our industrial civilization. But even in this area, as well as in the area of the human problems of individuals and groups, we often fall short of our aims or persist unduly in antiquated solutions. How can we under-

stand the dynamics of our failures? Perhaps by bringing in the concept of emotionality as it relates to work, productivity, and problem-solving efforts.

To do this we need to return to the simple model of a person or a group confronted with a problem. What are the ways of responding to the situation? How do feelings enter in? One response is to engage the problem and apply the available energy and intellectual resources to the solution of the difficulty. Some of the alternative responses available to individuals and groups are as follows:

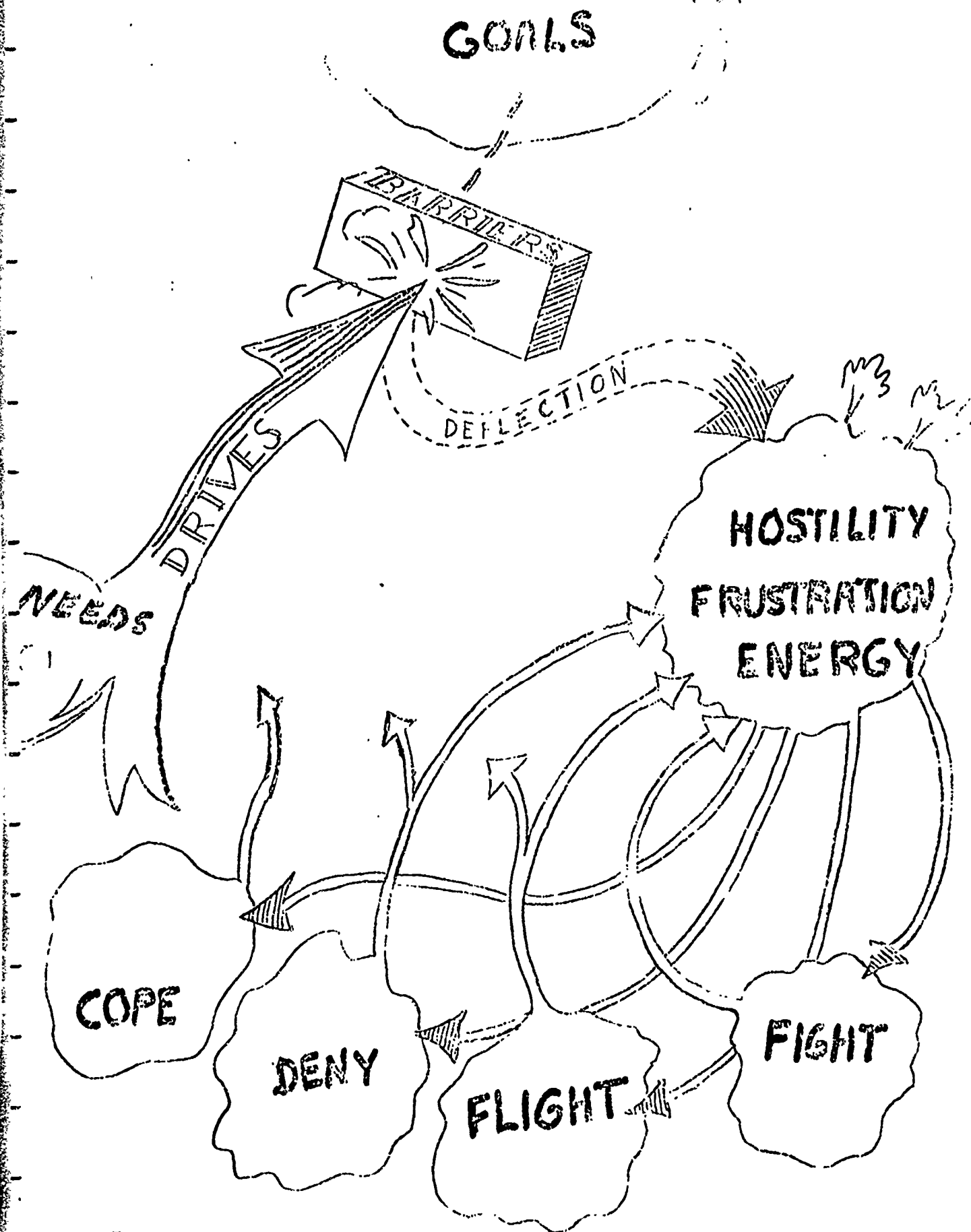
1. Fight. By the concept of fight we refer to the reaction of hostile aggression toward the aspect of the reality which appears to be blocking our progress. This is a way of stating the frustration-aggression hypothesis. Deep in our biological nature, in this view, lies a submerged tendency to be angry, to retaliate, to hurt, to punish. This is one emotional mode of responding to a problem. In Bion's conception, we can characterize the hidden assumption shared by a group in the same way we can see an individual respond in a mode of fight. This aggression may be active and strike out or it may be passive and be seen as a resentful refusal to apply effort to the solution of the problem confronting the group or individual. In human relationships the fight response tends to elicit the same thing from the object. Teachers get mad at "sullen" Students. Unions get mad at management's disguised hostility. Interviewers are disturbed when clients resist them. Right of way agents get upset when owners argue with them. Urges to fight are real, neither good nor bad necessarily, but part of the reality we wish to understand and cope with.
2. Flight. The concept of flight renews to the notion, obviously of running away, escaping and fleeing the problem. The student group that is failing in solving its college work can escape into endless beer-parties and bull sessions. A discussion group can escape into abstract discussions far afield from the problems confronting it. The urge to flee like the urge to fight is again part of the reality situation, neither good nor bad in essence, but often present if we can recognize it.
3. Dependency. This concept refers to the silent assumption that we will wait for someone else, a leader, a teacher, a messiah to lead us out of our dilemma. One way of thinking about this emotional assumption, often shared in a group, is that there exists a silent wish for a savior who is

all-knowing and all-powerful. Perhaps this wish for a perfect leader is reflected in the companion emotion of an unwillingness to use the imperfect leadership resources available to a person or a group confronted with a problem. Dependency may manifest itself in the guise of its opposite, counter-dependency or a rejection of any helpful efforts on the part of the group's leader.

4. Fixation. A fourth reaction to a problem situation is a fixation, an unwarranted rigidity and persistency in stereotyped responses. Fixation is particularly present when a person or group is confronted with a problem of great magnitude which appears impossible to solve. This represents repeated attempts to use a solution which is ineffective in achieving the desired goals. This emotional response like the others above is part of our animal equipment for living and is more to be recognized than denied.

Perhaps this list of the emotional undertones of personal and group behavior could be expanded. The other defense mechanisms such as denial or projection come readily to mind. The interrelationship of these concepts is beyond the purpose here. The main point is to bring into our awareness the reality of emotionality as it relates to the problems of work, productivity, selling, adjudication, and achievement both for individuals and groups.

Perhaps these concepts are useful for diagnostic purposes where as persons or as members of groups we feel that these emotional undertones of existence are hampering and impairing progress. The first step in utilizing these notions is to become aware of this level of reality. Our assumption in human relations is, as previously stated, that awareness is the beginning of productive effort. One objective of this course is to become aware of a greater variety of ways of responding to problems in interpersonal relations as they relate to the achievement of our goals and objectives.



To accompany RP#3CJ - item C
CONFLICT/ENERGY UTILIZATION MODEL

IMPROVEMENT OF PRISONER/STAFF RELATIONS

As a result of a session on interpersonal skill, the correctional staff made these recommendations as to practical efforts which duty personnel could undertake to reduce tension and improve relations with confinees:

- 1) Build up the EGO of the confinee; provide positive feedback.
- 2) Put yourself in confinee's place when communicating- try to see problem from his position.
- 3) Don't make confinee feel inferior; treat him like a man and respect him as a human being.
- 4) Convince confinee you want to help him- show "empathy."
- 5) Work for change in Brig S.O.P. so staff can accomplish correctional objectives.
- 6) Emphasize approach and attitude toward the confinees by duty personnel.
- 7) Don't take your problems to work with you and project them on prisoners.
- 8) Know your authority and how to use it.
- 9) Be professional but not overbearing.
- 10) Be sensible and flexible.
- 11) Understanding yourself and your job.
- 12) Be receptive to the confinee and learn to listen.
- 13) Probe for problem area; avoid the simple solution.
- 14) Humanizing the situation- how would you want to be treated under these circumstances.
- 15) Do not prejudge the confinee; keep an open-mind.

IMPROVEMENT OF PRISONER/STAFF RELATIONS
(continued- page two)

- 16) Be aware of your own prejudices.
- 17) Keep your emotions under control- play it "cool."
- 18) Patiently reason and work with him.
- 19) Follow up on all promises or commitments to confinees.
- 20) Remember the prisoner is still a fellow Marine.

125

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LEARNING MODULE VI

INSIGHTS
FROM
INMATE
FEEDBACK

CONFINEE PERSONALITY PROFILE

Below are some words that may be used to describe a person or persons. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree that each word applies to a typical brig confinee. For example, if you agree strongly that the word "good" applies to the description of an average brig confinee, place an "X" in the "Agree Strongly" column. If you don't know how you feel, use the middle column.

	Agree Strongly	Agree Slightly	Don't Know	Disagree Slightly	Disagree Strongly	For Office Use Only
Good (example)	X					
Mature						1
Easily influenced						2
Aggressive						3
Truthful						4
Stable						5
Weak willed						6
Conservative						7
Superior						8
Careful						9
Moral						10
Honest						11
Adult						12
Trustworthy						13
Thick headed						14
Passive						15
Radical						16
Unlucky						17
Respectable						18
Friendly						19
Hot headed						20
Conscientious						21
Immature						22
Tolerant						23
Responsible						24

CONFINEE PERSONALITY PROFILE COMPARISON

The purpose of this paper is to compare the profiles of typical brig confinees as recorded by confinees and correctional personnel. The confinee scores are based on a sample of thirty confinees from the Camp Pendleton and 32nd Street Naval Station Correctional Facilities. The correctional personnel scores were obtained from the trainees who participated in the Professional Development Institute for Correctional Personnel conducted at Camp Pendleton. In both cases the personnel were instructed to fill out the scale as they thought a typical confinee would fill it out.

It must be remembered that the primary purpose of the scale was to stimulate the correctional personnel into thinking like the confinees. Since the objective of the Module was to show how confinees feel about their brig experience, it was felt that it would be helpful to develop trainee empathy for the confinees. Because of this objective, the actual comparison of the profiles should be considered secondary.

The findings indicate that in many cases the confinees and correctional personnel agreed in how a particular word applied to a typical confinee.

The most striking difference in response between the confinees and correctional personnel was in the use of the "Don't Know" column. In almost every instance the correctional personnel appeared to be more sure of how a word applied to a typical

prisoner. This is probably because they have had enough experience with confinees to develop stereotypes. In many cases the closeness of the two group's answers indicates that the correctional personnel were able to describe the typical confinee in the same way that the confinees described him. The correctional personnel did, however, see the typical confinee as more unlucky, radical, and immature, and less friendly, adult, tolerant, responsible, and conservative than did the confinees. Again it should be noted that this short analysis was secondary to the real purpose of the confinee profile.

CONFINEE PERSONALITY PROFILE RESULTS

The grid below indicates how both correctional facility personnel and confinees react to words that might apply to the description of a typical confinee. The example indicates that, while confinees agree that the word "good" could apply to the description of an average confinee, the correctional personnel were inclined to disagree.

	Agree Strongly	Agree Slightly	Don't Know	Disagree Slightly	Disagree Strongly	
Good (example)	40%	35%	-	20%	5%	Confinces
	5	25	-	40	30	Personnel
Mature	16%	44%	8%	22%	8%	Confinces
	13%	33%	3%	23%	26%	Personnel
Easily influenced	25	27	13	25	8	Confinces
	20	30	3	36	10	Personnel
Aggressive	19	27	27	19	5	Confinces
	33	23	10	26	6	Personnel
Truthful	5	36	11	36	11	Confinces
	16	33	10	30	10	Personnel
Stable	11	25	16	30	16	Confinces
	6	23	20	40	10	Personnel
Weak willed	11	16	30	27	13	Confinces
	16	23	13	33	13	Personnel
Conservative	11	25	27	25	11	Confinces
	-	26	26	30	16	Personnel
Superior	2	16	38	19	22	Confinces
	16	23	20	13	26	Personnel
Careful	5	41	30	16	5	Confinces
	13	33	6	33	13	Personnel

CONFINEE PERSONALITY PROFILE RESULTS (Cont'd.)

Moral	11	33	30	16	8	Confinees
	6	26	33	26	3	Personnel
Honest	13	27	22	30	5	Confinees
	16	40	10	23	10	Personnel
Adult	13	41	11	19	13	Confinees
	23	20	6	26	23	Personnel
Trustworthy	22	33	19	16	8	Confinees
	26	26	13	23	10	Personnel
Thick headed	27	22	22	22	5	Confinees
	26	20	40	10	3	Personnel
Passive	5	33	44	13	2	Confinees
	10	30	23	23	13	Personnel
Radical	11	30	33	11	13	Confinees
	26	40	10	20	3	Personnel
Unlucky	19	19	41	8	11	Confinees
	40	13	16	13	16	Personnel
Respectable	22	38	16	16	5	Confinees
	6	40	20	20	13	Personnel
Idly	17	44	5	2	0	Confinees
	16	50	6	16	10	Personnel
Hot headed	19	44	13	13	5	Confinees
	20	36	6	23	13	Personnel
Conscientious	16	36	27	13	2	Confinees
	10	40	16	26	6	Personnel
Immature	5	44	22	16	11	Confinees
	36	16	3	20	23	Personnel
Tolerant	19	38	16	22	2	Confinees
	6	26	23	33	10	Personnel
Responsible	30	33	11	19	5	Confinees
	13	30	13	20	23	Personnel

SELECTED COMMENTS FROM CONFINEE INTERVIEWS

A. Screening Program

...They (new prisoners) are already scared, and to give all kinds of conflicting orders just makes them more scared and more confused.

...We just go to a room and sit for about five days.

...Some guys go right from screening to the cell block just because they don't know how to get along in the brig.

B. Guard and Counselor Behavior

...A firm order by one person is worth ten times five conflicting orders by five different people.

...If they gave us a half a chance to help ourselves. I don't think any of us came here expecting help from these people, but we do expect a chance to help ourselves. Over here it's just impossible to get anything done.

...One day you've got it easy next day you've got it hard. This is hard on your peace of mind.

...All they (counselors) do is try to pacify you, they don't try to deal with your problem.

...Counselors say yes to all of your questions but they never get anything done.

...I can see the reason for guards being firm with you, but I can't see them just harassing you for no reason.

...Actually the main problem (with guards) in here is the inconsistency.

...Maybe you're (prisoners) not the ideal military man, you are still human, they (guards) should treat you that way.

...The supervisors that get the best results are the ones that treat the people half way decent and act half way decent towards them.

B. Guard and Counselor Behavior (continued)

...People that treat you like shit don't get very good results.

...Besides maturity they (guards) should have some sense of responsibility for human beings.

...It's just that the staff here doesn't care.

...Mostly, the reason we are in here is because we've got problems. (guards) aren't helping our problems any by harassing us.

...Some of the guards, they come on duty and they are already pissed off about something. They take their anger out on us and so naturally we get up in the air about that, and that's the way it (trouble) starts out.

...The guard shifts are different and inconsistent. If they'd get it together it would be a whole lot easier on all of us. Them and us.

C. Prisoner Attitude

...If you need to talk to somebody but you know that you have to wait two or three days to do it, maybe by that time you don't need to talk to them anymore.

...What happens to most of us here is that we just get bitter.

...The best thing you can do while here in the brig is the shorter you get the less you say, or they will try to put you in the cell block to take away your good time.

...The longer you are in here the more you build up hate for the military in general. In fact, you spend a lot of time thinking about where you are going to run to next time.

D. Value of Brig Experience

...I don't see how they can call this place a correctional center. I don't see what it's correcting. All I've learned since I've been here is hate and resentment.

D. Value of Brig Experience (continued)

...nce a person has been in here, I'd say nine out of ten of them will keep coming back until they get a discharge.

...It's like a poison. They should separate the people that are getting a discharge from the people that are going back to duty for the simple reason that the people getting out are so much happier than those going back to duty. It's like a poison and it spreads and infects the others.

...The brig has nothing that is going to benefit the guys that are going back to duty.

...The P.R.P. class helped me learn about myself and about how to get along with others.

...After the P.R.P. class I felt more confident when talking to other people. Now I can tell them what I think about them without telling them to get screwed.

...They don't tell you anything about how to behave when you go back to duty.

...Why is the Corps so willing to give a man who is going back to duty three months (in the brig), while the man who is getting out, getting a BCD, they only give him two months? It's not a whole lot of incentive to going back to duty.

...One of the worst things about the brig is knowing that whatever duty you had before the brig was better than anything you will get after you get out.

...All in all, it's (the brig) not that bad. It's nothing that you can't put up with. But it doesn't do any good.

...It's (brig experience) going to change everybody, some will be a little better, some or maybe most a little worse, some really will become bad.

LEARNING MODULE VII

CULTURAL
INFLUENCE
ON
PRISONER/STAFF
BEHAVIOR

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
INSTITUTE FOR CRIMINAL JUSTICE
PERSONNEL

RESOURCE PAPER #8 CJ

1971

CORRECTIONS AND THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE*

With the increasing emphasis on the behavioral sciences in the criminal justice system, an understanding of the concept of culture has achieved greater importance. This is especially true in the field of corrections where the environmental aspects play such a dominant role in the success of the practitioner.

Definition of Culture

The concept of culture is the major theme of cultural anthropology and refers to the "integrated sum total of learned behavioral traits which are manifest and shared by members of a society,"¹ plus the manifestation of these behavioral traits through the creation of institutions and artifacts.

What is culture? Some anthropologists conceive of culture as that which separates humans from non-humans. Others think of culture as communicable knowledge. There are some anthropologists who speak of culture as the sum of historical achievements produced by man's social life. These differences in conceiving culture are differences of emphasis rather than of total content, and are not mutually exclusive. Yet, these differences have led to the formulation of many definitions of culture, with each having something in common with the others. Clyde Kluckhohn himself defined culture as "the historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men. The father of cultural anthropology, E. B. Taylor, defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." The concept of culture involves the study of the origin and history of man's behavior in groups, the structure and functioning of human culture, the artifacts and the institutions developed to cope with the environment, the effects of the geo-physical environment on culture, etc.

Americans have a unique culture which reflects the cultural aspects of the many immigrant groups that contributed to the development of this society within

our culture; there are many subcultures, sometimes called "micro" cultures (e.g., youth, blacks, blue collar workers, etc.). The "under" world of criminals form a sub culture within society, just as the military is a subculture. When the concept of culture is applied to military systems, one then analyzes the military life style, customs, traditions, rules and regulations which guide human behavior in that environment.

The Marines, themselves, have a distinctive cultural pattern within the whole Armed Forces. Here are some of the characteristics that go into the formation of a unique culture which can be readily observed in the Marine Corps itself: (1) Language and Communication - not only is there a formal military communication system, but the Marines have their own special expressions within the Corps (e.g., "D.I." or brig rat.) They also have systems of signs and symbols. (2) Dress and Appearance - in addition to the various uniforms, there are customs and regulations on length of hair, equipment to be worn, etc. (3) Food and Feeding Habits - the style of serving food on base or in the field, the type of food, the way in which it is eaten, and other such food procedures distinguish the military from civilian eating arrangements. (4) Time and Time Consciousness - the military not only has its own twenty-four hour time system, but definite approaches to promptness and the use of time that sometimes differ from civilian practice. (5) Rewards and Recognition - the military also has its own special hierarchy and system for promotions, citations, commendations. (6) Relationships - in the formal sense relationships are determined by strict protocol and rank (e.g., enlisted men salute officers, NCO's have their own clubs, etc.)²

The inmates in correctional facilities, furthermore, become part of a "prison culture." This subculture, too, has its characteristics which provide identity and distinctiveness. This prison culture has its own attitude and value system. The accompanying resource instrument (#8CJ) will give the reader an opportunity to analyze these factors which operate among prisoners.

Cultural Universals

Culture is shared with others in an organization, society, country, system, institution, etc. Hence, when one studies culture one studies the culture of some group, such as prisoners or criminals. The end results of this study are generalizations and their analysis, pertaining to the culture of that group. Some of these generalizations may apply to all cultures (for example, a belief in the supernatural). Such characteristics, applicable to all cultures, are called cultural universals and lead to broader considerations of human nature.

Although there is diversity of culture, there are some common practices of human nature present in all cultures. Yet people often take different ways to accomplish similar ends. Thus, there are some common cultural elements that can be observed in all prison systems, though military prisons may take different ways than their civilian counterparts to accomplish the same end.

George Murdock developed the following partial list of cultural universals: "age-grading, athletic sports, bodily adornment, calendar, cleanliness training, community organization, cooking, cooperative labor, cosmology, courtship, dancing, decorative art, divination, division of labor, dream interpretation, education, eschatology, ethics, ethnobotany, etiquette, faith healing, family feasting, fire making, folk-lore, food taboos, funeral rites, games, gestures, gift giving, government, greetings, hair styles, hospitality, housing, hygiene, incest taboos, inheritance rules, joking, kingroups, kinship, nomenclature, language, law, luck superstitions, magic, marriage, mealtimes, medicine, modesty concerning natural functions, mourning, music, mythology, numerals, obstetrics, penal sanctions, personal names, population policy, postnatal care, pregnancy usages, property rights, propitiation of supernatural beings, puberty customs, religious ritual, residence rules, sexual restrictions, soul concepts, status differentiation, surgery, tool making, trade, visiting, weaning, and weather control." ³ From these universals the corrections specialist can learn that certain traits prevail in all cultures.

Patterns and Themes of Culture

Some cultural anthropologists, especially Dr. Ruth Benedict, have tried to develop the concept of a single integrative pattern to describe a culture.

Thus, for Benedict, ⁴ the culture of the Pueblos is integrated under one major pattern called apollonian. Apollonian applies to those who stick to the "middle of the road", avoiding any form of excess or conflict, to arrive at the values of existence. Through this single pattern Benedict has tried to facilitate the understanding of Pueblo culture by her summation of the integrating force. She believe that, a "culture, like an individual, is a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action. Within each culture there comes into being characteristic purposes not necessarily shared by other types of society." Thus, it is possible to study the cultural patterns of minority groups in America in order to understand them better (e. g., Mexican-Americans, blacks, Puerto Ricans, American Indians, etc.)

The pin-pointing of one dominant pattern for a culture is a difficult task. Once it has been pin-pointed, the advantages are obvious. It is because of this difficulty in arriving at a single acceptable integrating factor, that leads to the disadvantages of this method of understanding human behavior. How would one classify the U. S. culture under one pattern - "generous", "affluent", "materialistic", "achieving", "easy-going", "hard working", "status seeking", "excitable?" Most anthropologists consider this integrative principle too generalized and very difficult to arrive at. Hence, a number of anthropologists suggest that it would be better to organize the content of a culture around a number of summative themes.

A theme is defined as "a postulate or position, declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society." Though the concept of a pattern of culture seems more useful to the understanding of human behavior, in practice, the concept of themes and their interplay, provide a better theoretical tool for studying and understanding human behavior.

Implicit and Explicit Culture

What we observe about culture are certain regularities. The patterns or themes are also abstract concepts but they do exist and can observe their manifestations. "Each different way of life makes its own assumptions about the ends and purposes of human existence, about what human beings have a right to expect from each other and the gods, about what constitutes fulfillment or frustration. Some of these assumptions are made explicit in the lore of the folk; others are tacit premises which the observer must infer by finding consistent trends in word and deed." ⁵

By and large, patterns, due to their broader connotation, are more explicit and obvious than themes. Distinguishing between explicit and implicit culture is important both from the theoretical as well as the practical point of view. The distinction between overt (public) and covert (hidden) culture serves to call attention to the fact that much of our daily activity is governed by patterns and themes of which we are only dimly aware, if indeed we know of them at all. The advantage of this unconscious nature of much of our culturally governed behavior is that the routine of daily living is performed without thinking about it at all. It is because of this cultural conditioning that normal human beings are free to devote their conscious thinking to new situations and more creative pursuits. It is hardly likely that man would have moved so far toward an understanding of the world about them had they not developed as culture-bearing animals.

* When the professional in the criminal justice field understands cultural differences, he can learn to communicate more effectively with prisoners from a variety of cultural backgrounds. He becomes more tolerant of others and the peculiarities of their cultural influences. He can develop skills in dealing with people who are different from him. Finally, he can better understand some of the cultural influences of the past and present which affect his own behavior and attitudes.

Cultures and Subcultures

In a society, group or nation sharing many common culture traits or elements, there may be some characteristic traits that distinguish one group from another. These distinguishing characteristics may be shared by an age group, class group, sex group, race group or some other entity, which has already been called a subculture. Thus, for example, teenagers share certain characteristic traits and we can refer to a teenage subculture. Similarly, negroes share certain cultural traits, as do the middle class, which form separate subcultures. We have already referred to the military and prison subcultures. Subcultures may also be narrowed to refer to a combination of certain common traits in a specific group such as negro teenage girls from middle class families. The concept of subculture refers to the special characteristics of a segment of a culture. Such distinctions are especially important in large and complex cultures.

Another aspect of the concept of subculture is the sharing of certain characteristic cultural traits by groups which otherwise differ in many ways. Thus, a number of nations which greatly vary from each other in culture and language could still share certain common characteristics. Nations could, for example, share a subculture of Catholicism or Communism or be in the agricultural or industrial stage of development, or have the subcultural characteristics of poverty, or class distinctions, or the subculture of large cities, etc. Here the concept of subculture refers to certain cultural traits shared by societies which otherwise differ from each other.

Usually these traits appear in clusters. A number of related traits are shared by the subcultures. Thus, the poor people of India will share with the poor of China a number of related traits, such as lack of housing, hunger, high birth rate and death rate, illiteracy, etc. Similarly, the Communists of Russia will share a cluster of traits with the Communists of the United States and certain related large city characteristics appear in clusters in all large cities.

Hence, a subculture refers to a distinguishable entity within a larger culture or to the clustered cultural traits shared by certain entities in differing cultures. Certain cultural traits may belong within a larger culture as well as be shared by differing cultures. Thus, police throughout the world share common cultural patterns. But within that occupational grouping, military police may have a cluster of traits that distinguish them in particular.

It is important for the criminal justice professional to be aware of these various differences. For example, while it has been noted that one may study the "prison culture", it is also vital to be aware of cultural differences in black, Chicano, or Indian prisoners.

Diversity of Culture

Human culture varies in space. The Hottentots of Africa have a different culture from that of the New Yorkers. Within the American continent, the cultures of various American Indian tribes differ markedly from each other. This cultural diversity affects human behavior. The saying "one man's food is another man's poison" can be taken literally, so great is the diversity of culture.

This diversity of human behavior may be illustrated in almost every activity in which human beings engage. Social organization, toilet habits, religious ceremonies, food habits, all vary endlessly. The Eskimos of the Arctic live almost exclusively upon meat and fish in contrast to the Jains of India who are strict vegetarians to the point of wearing masks so that they do not "eat" or "kill" germs. Dog and horse

meat is eaten by many people. Some Mexican Indians bred a special variety of dog for food and in Russia, horse meat is still a part of the diet. Yet, there are many people, like ourselves, who find the idea of eating dog meat or horse meat nauseating.

There are variations as well in the custom of marriage. Certain cultures permit polygamy (several wives), others permit polyandry (one wife and several husbands); some have preferential marriage with cross-cousins, others prohibit it. Toilet training varies endlessly and has strong effects on the personality development.

There is a close relationship between man and culture. "In a consideration of the differences of behavior between peoples, therefore, we may regard man as a constant, culture as a variable. This is to say that the differences in behavior that we observe between Chinese and Russians, between Eskimos and Hottentots, Mongoloid and Caucasoid, savage and civilized man, are due to their respective cultures rather than biological -- anatomical, physiological, or psychological -- differences between them. The whole matter of interpretation of human behavior is thus put in quite a different light from the one in which is frequently viewed. Instead of explaining cultural differences among peoples by saying that one is phlegmatic, taciturn, unimaginative and prosaic, we now see that the differences of behavior of various peoples are due to the differences among the cultural traditions that stimulate them respectively." ⁶ White's statement re-emphasizes the close relationship between human behavior and culture.

For the field of criminal justice, especially in its international aspects, the impact of the diversity of culture seems endless. Take the use of color, for example. In Iran, blue is for mourning; mourners wear white in Japan, and purple symbolizes death in Latin America. In a similar manner Americans associate black with sadness.

The use of symbols is also greatly affected by this cultural diversity. Chester Bowles, while Ambassador to India, found it extremely amusing to see the elephant as a symbol of the communist party in that country. One can imagine the confusion of a Republican going to India, and saying that the elephant is the symbol of his party. Far fetched as this type of mistake may seem, many true examples of such blunders can be cited.

Conclusion

This paper has taken a rather sweeping view of the concept of culture. It has sought to highlight the important aspects of culture and show its relationship to corrections. Corrections work is culture bound. The correctional staffs are influenced by their own cultural backgrounds as well as by the cultural patterns of the systems in which they operate (e.g., the military or prison system). The people we seek to rehabilitate are also influenced in their attitudes and behavior by their own cultural backgrounds and their position as confined inmates of a prison. The corrections person who is more aware of such forces at work in himself, other staff, and the prisoners can be helped to operate more effectively in his vocational relationships. This knowledge can also aid in cross-cultural communications between the corrections professional and people who come from a different culture.

* This resource paper has been adapted from a chapter by Dr. Maneck Wadia in his book Management and the Behavioral Sciences (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1968). Dr. Wadia has been a professor of business and anthropology in U.S. International University. He is a management consultant specializing in training.

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LEARNING MODULE VIII

CULTURAL
INFLUENCE
ON
DECISION
MAKING

FDICP

ONR/USMC

RESOURCE INSTRUMENT #8CJ-C

CULTURAL BEHAVIOR ANALYSIS

STAFF/PRISONER RELATIONS

Directions: This exercise requires three steps - (1) note your observations on the lines below in view of the situation presented by filling in the blank spaces with appropriate information; (2) share this data with your fellow group members and try to arrive at some consensus with your combined observations; (3) note your group findings on newsprint paper with the marking pencils provided to your group.

Situations: Chose either A or B for your reporting. You are a CORRECTIONS SUPERVISOR OF (A) a minority group prisoner from any ethnic group you wish to select (Black, Indian, Chicano, Oriental, Filipino, etc.). OR (B) a young prisoner under 21 years of age.

This person represents a "micro" culture within American society; he is different from you in his background, attitudes, and perceptions. Try to place yourself in his "life space" or "private world" and report how he may act or feel in regard to the categories described below. Try to record the differences in viewpoint you might expect from this prisoner. The column on the left should be used for this purpose. When you have finished inserting your observations about his outlook, then use the column on the right side to list the contrasting viewpoint which you hold that may affect your relationship.

Indicate your selection as to which group you have selected in A/B for your observations:

The prisoner (type) _____

PRISONER CULTURE BACKGROUND

(his)

SUPERVISOR'S CULTURAL BACKGROUND

(you)

I. Communication Style (non verbal, as well as verbal or language in business)

His

Yours

II Normal Clothing of that Group

III. Appearance (hair, beards, etc.)

In prison: _____

Outside prison _____

IV. Work Habits and Attitudes (towards authority /staff/inmates) .

V. Values and Standards

VI. Sense of Time/attention span

VII. Food and Diet

626

His

Yours

VIII. Other Customs, Traditions, or Beliefs which may affect the relationship between the prisoner and the staff member because of differences:

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Finally, WHAT PROBLEMS OR CHALLENGES DO YOU SEE IN YOUR CORRECTIONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THIS PERSON BECAUSE OF SOME OF THE DIFFERENCES WHICH YOU HAVE IDENTIFIED?

- 1) _____
- 2) _____

WHAT ABOUT EDUCATIONAL OR INFORMATION DIFFERENCES BETWEEN YOU AND THIS PRISONER?

- 3) _____
- _____

MOON XX

AN INCIDENT FOR GROUP DISCUSSION AND DECISION

The Group

Each of you is a member of NASA. More importantly, you are a member of a group referred to as the "Brain Trust XX" --- the decision-making group of NASA for the Apollo XX flight. Your group has been called into an emergency session to make a decision regarding a problem that has arisen during the Apollo XX mission.

The Incident

Four astronauts had spent ten days visually observing the moon from sixty miles away. They had been directed by your group to make the final maneuver to land on the dark side of the moon. Two members of the crew successfully landed on the moon via an auxiliary craft. While returning to the mother capsule, the auxiliary capsule lost power about twenty miles from union and is now unable to reach the mother craft for the flight back to earth. The Apollo craft could make an extraordinarily difficult maneuver to recapture the auxiliary craft. However, the chances of recovery, though not hopeless are calculated at only one in six. If an attempt is made at recovering the small craft, and the plan fails, four men and two crafts will fall into non-earth directed orbits and be doomed. If no attempt is made at recovery of the small craft, only that craft and two men will be lost; the mother craft will be saved and most of the scientific and financial objectives of this mission will have been achieved. If an attempt is made at recovery and successful --- WOW!

The Problem

Should Apollo XX be directed to recover the auxiliary craft? The timing of the orbits require a decision within 35 minutes.

LEARNING MODULE IX

UNDERSTANDING
GROUP
BEHAVIOR
AND ITS
IMPLICATIONS
FOR
PRISON LIFE

GROUP MATURITY ANALYSIS

Group _____

Date _____

Instructions: Observe the group at work on its task; when it is completed read each statement and circle the number closest to how you think the group acted as a whole.

This Group:

1. Has adequate mechanisms for getting feedback

Poor feedback
mechanisms

1	2	3	4	5
average				

Excellent feedback
mechanisms

2. Adequate decision making procedure

Poor decision
making procedure

1	2	3	4	5
average				

Very adequate decision
making procedure

3. Feeling of togetherness

Low cohesion

1	2	3	4	5
average				

Feeling of togetherness

4. Flexible organization and procedures

Very Inflexible

1	2	3	4	5
average				

Very flexible

5. Maximum use of member resources

Poor use of
resources

1	2	3	4	5
average				

Excellent use of
resources

6. Clear communications

Poor
communications

1	2	3	4	5
average				

Excellent
communications

7. Clear goals accepted by members

Unclear goals -
not accepted

1	2	3	4	5
average				

Very clear goals
accepted

8. Feelings of inter-dependence (feel you can disagree) with authority persons

No inter-dependence

1	2	3	4	5
average				

High inter-dependence

9. Shared participation in leadership functions

No shared
participation

1	2	3	4	5
average				

High shared
participation

10. Acceptance of minority views and persons

No acceptance

1	2	3	4	5
average				

High acceptance

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT
INSTITUTE FOR CORRECTIONAL JUSTICE
PERSONNEL

RESOURCE PAPER # 5 CJ

1971

BEHAVIOR CHARACTERISTICS
IN CORRECTIONAL GROUPS

There are a variety of groupings in a police, probation, or correctional system. Within the latter institution, for example, the groups can be analyzed generally from the viewpoints of those which exist among and between the staff, and those which are formed among and between the inmates. Man is a social being, so it is natural that he form groups. The professional who can understand his own behavior in such groups, as well as observe the activities of others in groups, will be more effective on the job. The reader, for instance, can apply these principles of group dynamics in a staff meeting, or in a group session with prisoners.

Groups may be formed (1) naturally - out of a common interest, cause, or concern; or by means of (2) a common task or assignment. Students in a class, men in a work unit, prisoners in a special division, Marines in Charlie Company - all are examples of a collection of people who are brought together by reason of a common assignment. In time they may become a true "group" if most of the factors described in this paper occur.

Just as one may study an individual's personality and try to understand the causes of his behavior, so too the corrections specialist can analyze group personality and behavior within the justice system.

COMPLEXITIES OF GROUPS

Every group whether it is a committee, a staff meeting, or inmates living in a dormitory, has certain characteristics in common. Some of these characteristics may be obvious and familiar to us, others are the more subtle processes and patterns of behavior which comprise the interaction of persons in group life. All of these characteristics are aspects of group life to which both members and designated leaders need to develop sensitivity and skill in order to work effectively in a variety of group situations.

1. Group Background: Every meeting of a group involves the history of the group, its immediate environmental setting, and what members individually bring in the way of attitudes, interests, and feelings. Each member comes into the group with preconceived notions and attitudes which bear directly upon the life and work of the group. The responses and feelings of the group which have been generated in the past are also present. Whatever traditions, norms, and procedures the group has developed will equally be operative.

-What is this "history like?

-What are its effects upon the relationships of members and the work of the group?

For example, a group of correctional staff who have worked together over several years develop a history of their relationships as they form a work group. New comers into that work unit would have to know something of the history of this group, if one were to truly understand the behavior of group members.

2. Group Participation Patterns: In every group situation, people are interacting with one another in one way or another. Each group develops and frequently changes its participation pattern. Participation is one way in which power--influence upon the behavior and work of the group--is exerted in the interaction of members. Some patterns of participation show high response to status and power forces in the group. Participation patterns affect what members may be in the group--a dominant member who talks 80% of the time reduces the participation of others.

-Does the participation bring out what the various members might be able to contribute?

-How much participation by the leader? By the various members?

A collection of prisoners in an adult education class may form a group as the course goes on. Such a class may offer an opportunity for group growth. In class and rest periods together, there may be a free exchange of ideas. The best educated or most forceful inmate in the group may impose his ideas and opinions upon the others, or he may facilitate the participation of others.

3. Group Communication Patterns: This is foremost who talks to whom, what do they say, and what are the effects - a pattern or system of communication forms within groups. The communication processes of a group can be seen in the consistencies of the verbal and non-verbal interactions of members. In verbal communication, the clarity of expression, a common vocabulary, and the effect of the verbalization are among the important considerations. At the same time, significant communication takes place non-verbally--in posture, in facial expression, in gestures. Much of our response to persons is to this non-verbal level of communication.

-How clear are the leader and members in expressing their ideas?

-Does everyone understand what is going on? What non-verbal means are being used?

A communication pattern among prisoners, for example, may be to talk only in phrases and not to complete thoughts in a sentence; or it may be to place emphasis on profanity and obscenity as a sign of one's toughness and manliness. Or the communication system among black prisoners may involve many non-verbal signs of unity and support which confuse other prisoners and guards.

4. Group Cohesion: This relates to the attractiveness of the group to its members. There are a variety of factors and forces involved in the cohesiveness of a group. For example, the ways in which members express likings for one another affect group cohesion. Fear of a common enemy or zeal for a common task can affect cohesiveness. Perhaps the most effective cohesiveness is that which enables members to work together in an interdependent way where each feels free to invest himself and contribute the best he has to the task of the group.

- How well is the group working together as a team?
- How willing are members to accept and act on group decisions?

The Marines, for example, have a tradition of sticking together as a group against all comers whether it be other branches of the Armed Forces or the enemy in battle. Police tend to display group cohesion against civilians; black militants group together against white racists. Some corrections staffs demonstrate group cohesion when they begin to work together as a team.

5. Sub-Groups: In any group situation of three or more people, there will frequently develop sub-groups of one kind or another. Sometimes sub-groups are determined on the basis of friendships, sometimes from a common need or interest at that stage of group life, or from shared antipathy to other members or the direction the group is taking. Sub-groups change within the group in relation to new tasks, new forces or new issues. Sub-groups are a normal occurrence but need to be diagnosed and dealt with creatively and responsively to achieve good group relations.

- What sub-groups exist and how do they work together?
- What are the needs, issues, or forces to which the sub-groups appear to be related?

Prison groups often form groups or cliques depending on some common need, experience, race, interest or problem. Inmates with a drug problem may be together; Chicanos may group to protect themselves from exploitation by Anglos; homosexuals seek out others with similar attractions.

6. Group Atmosphere: This characteristic refers to the degree that exists of informality, freedom, and intra-group acceptance of members. In an unfriendly, formal, or rigid situation, members are unable to communicate freely or to expose ideas and feelings which may conflict with the direction the group is taking. An atmosphere of genuine permissiveness facilitates sharing and frankness in participation. Such an atmosphere is especially important in a learning situation.

- How free do members feel they are to express themselves?
- How willing are members to share personal feelings?
- How would you rate the group on friendliness, informality?

In a group characterized by authoritarianism, for instance, members often do not "level" with one another publicly. They tend to be formal in their communication and say what they expect the authority figures want to hear. This can lead to poor decisions and waste of effort by the group.

7. Group Standards: These refer to the code of operation a group adopts in a particular situation. The standards of a group grow out of the need to coordinate behavior without which movement toward group goals will be frustrated. Such standards provide a framework or guides for adjusting individual needs and resources for the requirements of group action. They tend to help stabilize the group and contribute to its cohesiveness. For example, a group can develop standards (a code of operation) on ways of making decisions, on who is included or excluded from membership, etc.

- Has the group developed a code of ethics for its own operation?
- Are there standards on member responsibility, or group discipline?

In police or military groups, some standards of behavior are formally outlined in a manual; other behavior norms may be unwritten but known. Prisoner groups have many standards about communication with guards, "squealing", work performance, etc.

8. Group Procedures: Every group needs defined ways of getting work done. To have an effective meeting, a group must follow certain procedures. The important requirement is that procedures be adequate and appropriate to the task to be done. Related to this is the problem of informal and formal procedures and their relationship to actual steps in getting a task accomplished.

- What kind of procedures does the group use?
- How are the procedures related to the type and achievement of the task?

Again, military and police groups usually have formal procedural manuals. Often to get a task done quickly, members have informal arrangements to cut the "red tape" and circumvent the longer, formal procedure.

9. Group Goals: These are the decisions of the group regarding the preferred outcomes of group action. Goals can vary in their clarity and in the value which the group places upon them. Also, goals can be both immediate, short-range, or long-range. They can emerge from the group or be imposed on the group. One important consideration is whether they are realistic in relation to the resources which the group can mobilize for their achievement.

- How does the group choose its goals?
- Are the goals attainable within the resources of the group?

A correctional staff which is to function effectively, must have institutional and divisional objectives. If the members of such groups participate in setting the goals, there is a better chance of achieving the objectives.

10. Group Leadership: One or more group leaders can be appointed or elected. Sometimes the "designated" leaders are not the real leaders, and often the natural leaders emerge in a group. Today the trend is toward team work and a "shared" leadership-different people contributing to leadership functions within the group.

- How are the leaders chosen in the groups to which you belong?
- How do such leaders exercise influence within a group?

For example, prison groups may depend on the individuals who exercise the most forcefulness, or who have the most experience in prison, or who have the most influence in the penal system.

KERNER COMMISSION FINDINGS -- RANKING TASK

Decision Form

Instructions: In 1968 the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (Kerner Commission) conducted more than 1200 interviews of residents of black communities soon after civil disorders occurred in those communities. Their findings include a list of the major grievances as expressed by Blacks. The Commission published a weighted ranking of major grievances in terms of the feelings expressed about the grievance.

The Commission concluded that white racism was a dominant and persuasive factor related to civil disorders. It also investigated more specific grievances.

Below is a list of 9 of the grievances mentioned by members of the black communities where large-scale civil disorders occurred. Your task is to rank these 9 grievance categories in the same order as the Kerner Commission's findings. Place the number 1 by the grievance category that you think was ranked as the most severe; place the number 2 by the second most severe, and so on through the number 9, which is your estimate of the least severe grievance.

- _____ Inadequate Education (de facto segregation, poor quality of instruction and facilities, inadequate curriculum, etc.)
- _____ Inadequate Municipal Services (inadequate sanitation and garbage removal, inadequate health care facilities, etc.)
- _____ Police Practices (physical and verbal abuse, no grievance channels, discrimination in hiring and promoting Blacks, etc.)
- _____ Inadequate Housing (poor housing code enforcement, discrimination in sales and rentals, overcrowding)
- _____ Inadequate Welfare Program (unfair qualification regulations and attitude of welfare workers toward recipients)
- _____ Poor Recreation Facilities (inadequate parks, playgrounds, etc.; lack of organized programs)
- _____ Unemployment and Underemployment (lack of full-time jobs, discrimination by companies or unions, etc.)
- _____ Administration of Justice (discriminatory treatment in the courts, presumption of guilt, etc.)
- _____ Political Structure and Grievance Mechanisms (lack of Black representation, no response to grievances, or inadequate grievance procedures)

Group Observation Form A

You are asked to observe one dimension of group behavior--influence and control by the members.

Think about how the members seek to control or influence the activity of the other persons. What did people do as they attempted to influence others? How did the others react?

Can you identify persons who did not seek to influence the others? Those who were influenced by others?

Influencing Behavior I Observed

Reactions in Others

Group Observation Form B

You are asked to observe several related dimensions of group behavior--involvement and responsibility of group members.

Do some people appear to be more involved in the group?
How could you tell?

Are some more out or withdrawn?

Do you see some as freer to participate? To what extent was participation encouraged?

Do some members express distrust?

Are some people forming a relationship with other members?

Do some persons assume responsibility in the group?
How did members take responsibility?

Do some avoid taking responsibility? How? Why?

What actions lead you to your conclusions?

Group Observation Form C

You are asked to observe one dimension of group behavior - emotionality and feelings of the members.

Think about the feelings people are having in the group. What are some of these? Some persons may not express feelings openly, or even attempt to cover up their feelings. Look for clues such as bodily posture, tone of voice, laughter, etc.

Try to identify the feelings you observe in the various members. How do they express these feelings in their behavior in this group?

Feelings I observed

Clues to these observations

LEARNING MODULE X

INTERPERSONAL
SKILLS
CORRECTIONAL
PERSONNEL

INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR ANALYSIS

Group _____

Date _____

Name of person you are describing _____

The person you are describing is: (Check one)

_____ myself

_____ my superior

_____ my subordinate

_____ my peer

_____ other

Please specify: _____

Instructions: Following are listed thirty-six descriptions of ways in which people participate in group meetings. For each item, choose the alternative which comes closest to picturing how the person you are describing performs in meetings.

Answer the items by marking an "x" on the line in front of the alternative that best expresses your feelings about the item. Mark only one alternative for each item.

Keep in mind that you are describing this person's behavior in _____ meetings and not how you have seen him perform in other settings.

1. He helps others express their ideas.

_____ always; _____ often; _____ occasionally; _____ seldom; _____ never

2. He tries to understand the feelings (anger, impatience, rejection) which others in the group express.

_____ always; _____ often; _____ occasionally; _____ seldom; _____ never

3. He shows intelligence.

_____ always; _____ often; _____ occasionally; _____ seldom; _____ never

4. He sympathizes with others when they have difficulties.

_____ always; _____ often; _____ occasionally; _____ seldom; _____ never

5. He expresses ideas clearly and concisely.

_____ always; _____ often; _____ occasionally; _____ seldom; _____ never

6. He expresses his own feelings (for example, when he is angry, impatient, ignored).

_____ always; _____ often; _____ occasionally; _____ seldom; _____ never

7. He is open to the ideas of others; looks for new ways to solve problems.

_____ always; _____ often; _____ occasionally; _____ seldom; _____ never

8. He is tolerant and accepting of other people's feelings.

_____ always; _____ often; _____ occasionally; _____ seldom; _____ never

9. He thinks quickly.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

10. He is angry or upset when things do not go his way.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

11. He is persuasive, a "seller of ideas."

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

12. You can tell quickly when he likes or dislikes what others do or say.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

13. He listens and tries to use the ideas raised by others in the group.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

14. He helps others in the group to express their feelings (for example, when they are irritated or upset).

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

15. He demonstrates high technical or professional competence. He "knows his stuff."

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

16. He is warm and friendly with those with whom he works.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

17. He is able to get the attention of others.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

18. His feelings are transparent. He doesn't have a "poker face" front.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

19. He is quick to adopt new ideas.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

20. He encourages others to talk about whatever is bothering them.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

21. He comes up with good ideas.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

22. His pride is hurt when he feels he has not done his best.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

23. He pursues his points aggressively.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

24. You usually know where you stand with him.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

25. He encourages others to express their ideas before he acts.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

26. He tries to help when others become angry or upset.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

27. He tries out new ideas.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

28. He is competitive. He likes to win and hates to lose.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

29. He presents his ideas convincingly.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

30. He responds frankly and openly.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

31. He is willing to compromise or change.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

32. If others in the group become angry or upset, he listens with understanding.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

33. He offers effective solutions to problems.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

34. He tends to be emotional.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

35. He talks in a way that others listen.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

36. When feelings run high, he deals directly with them, rather than changing the subject or smoothing the problem over.

___ always; ___ often; ___ occasionally; ___ seldom; ___ never

ON THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TOTAL INSTITUTIONS
Erving Goffman

A basic social arrangement in modern society is that we tend to sleep, play and work in different places, in each case with a different set of co-participants, under a different authority, and without an overall rational plan. The central feature of total institutions can be described as a breakdown of the kinds of barriers ordinarily separating these three spheres of life. First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Secondly, each phase of the member's daily activity will be carried out in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Thirdly, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole circle of activities being imposed from above through a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the contents of the various enforced activities are brought together as parts of a single overall rational plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution.

Individually, these totalistic features are found, of course, in places other than total institutions. Increasingly, for example, our large commercial, industrial and educational establishments provide cafeterias, minor services and off-hour recreation for their members, but while this is a tendency in the direction of total institutions, these extended facilities remain voluntary in many particulars of their use, and special care is taken to see that the ordinary line of authority does not extend to these situations. Similarly, housewives or farm families can find all their major spheres of life within the same fenced-in area, but these persons are not collectively regimented, and do not march through the day's steps in the immediate company of a batch of similar others.

The handling of many human needs by the bureaucratic organization of whole blocks of people--whether or not this is a necessary or effective means of social organization in the circumstances--can be taken, then, as the key fact of total institutions. From this, certain important implications can be drawn.

Given the fact that blocks of people are caused to move in time, it becomes possible to use a relatively small number of supervisory personnel, where the central relationship is not guidance or periodic checking, as in many employer-employee relations, but rather surveillance--a seeing to it that everyone does what he has been clearly told is required of him, and this under conditions where one person's infraction is likely to stand out in relief against the visible, constantly examined, compliance of the others. Which comes first, the large blocks of managed people or the small supervisory staff, is not here at issue; the point is that each is made for the other.

In total institutions, as we would then suspect, there is a basic split between a large class of individuals who live in and who have restricted contact with the world outside the walls, conveniently called inmates, and the small class that

supervises them, conveniently called staff, who often operate on an eight-hour day and are socially integrated into the outside world. Each grouping tends to conceive of members of the other in terms of narrow hostile stereotypes, staff often seeing inmates as bitter, secretive and untrustworthy, while inmates often see staff as condescending, high-handed and mean. Staff tends to feel superior and righteous; inmates tend in some ways at least to feel inferior, weak, blameworthy and guilty. Social mobility between the two strata is grossly restricted; social distance is typically great and often formally prescribed; even talk across the boundaries may be conducted in a special tone of voice. These restrictions on contact presumably help to maintain the antagonistic stereotypes. In any case, two different social and cultural worlds develop, tending to jog along beside each other with points of official contact, but little mutual penetration. It is important to add that the institutional plant and name comes to be identified by both staff and inmates as somehow belonging to staff, so that when either grouping refers to the views or interests of "the institution," by implication they are referring (as I shall also) to the views and concerns of the staff.

The staff-inmate split is one major implication of the central features of total institutions; a second one pertains to work. In the ordinary arrangements of living in our society, the authority of the work-place stops with the worker's receipt of a money payment; the spending of this in a domestic and recreational setting is at the discretion of the worker and is the mechanism through which the authority of the work-place is kept within strict bounds. However, to say that inmates in total institutions have their full day schedules for them, is to say that some version of all basic needs will have to be planned for, too. In other words, total institutions take over "responsibility" for the inmate, and must guarantee to have everything that is defined as essential "laid on." It follows, then, that whatever incentive is given for work, this will not have the structural significance it has on the outside. Different attitudes and incentives regarding this central feature of our life will have to prevail. Here, then, is one basic adjustment required of those who work in total institutions, and of those who must induce these people to work. In some cases, no work or very little is required, and inmates, untrained often in leisurely ways of life, suffer extremes of boredom. In other cases, some work is required but is carried on at an extremely slow pace, being geared into a system of minor, often ceremonial payments, as in the case of weekly tobacco ration and annual Christmas presents which cause some mental patients to stay on their job. In some total institutions, such as logging camps and merchant ships, something of the usual relation to the world that money can buy is obtained through the practice of "forced-saving;" all needs are organized by the institution and payment is given only after a work season is over and the men leave the premises. And in some total institutions, of course, more than a full-day's work is required, and is induced not by reward, but by threat of dire punishment. In all such cases, the work-oriented individual may tend to become somewhat demoralized by the system:

In addition to the fact that total institutions are incompatible with the basic work-payment structure of our society, it must be seen that these establishments are also incompatible with another crucial element of our society, the family.

The family is sometimes contrasted to solitary living, but in fact the more pertinent contrast to family life might be with batch-living. For it seems that those who eat and sleep at work, with a group of fellow-workers, can hardly sustain a meaningful domestic existence. Correspondingly, the extent to which a staff retains its integration in the outside community and escapes the encompassing tendencies of total institutions is often linked up with the maintenance of a family off the grounds.

HUMAN RELATIONS

Invisible Forces, Johari Windows, and Congurence*

Content Theme: Forming the New Group -- This presentation is designed to serve as a simplified map to the experience of the first few class sessions.

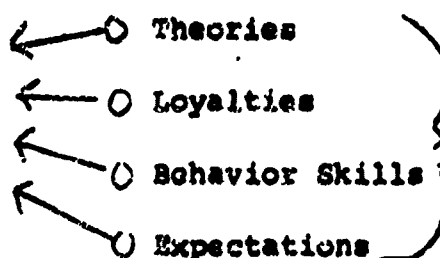
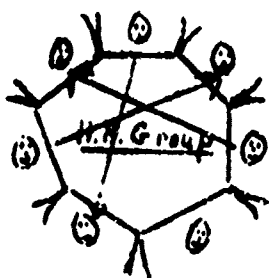
A. Invisible Forces:

When a corrections person finds himself in a new Human Relations Group he is influenced by numerous sets of forces which have a bearing on his behavior in the group.

He brings with him to the group situation:

1. Theories, assumptions, values, beliefs, prejudices, attitudes about self (the "self-concept"), others, groups, organizations and cultures. These serve as his "frames of reference" for his behavior.
2. Loyalties to other outside reference groups, i.e., his family, profession, religion, political affiliation, etc.
3. A repertoire of behavior skills which permit or prevent him from doing what he really wants to do (Diagnostic skills, listening skills, etc.).
4. More or less realistic expectations, hopes and anticipations concerning what the group experience will be like.

These forces, in evidence for each person, form his invisible committees. At the beginning of the life of a group, people know little of each other's invisible committees. The ambiguity of this situation may create feelings of discomfort and confusion.



One
"Invisible
Committee"

B. The Johari Window (names after Joe Luft and Harry Ingham who first used it at an information session at the Western Training Laboratory in Group Development, 1955.)

Interaction in the H.R. Group (as well as in other group situations) can be described in terms of a single individual and his relation to others.

The four quadrants of the Johari Window represent the whole person in relation to others. Area 1 is (k) to behavior and motivation known to self and known to others. It shows the extent to which two or more persons can give and take, work together and enjoy experiences together. The larger this area, the greater is the individual's contact with the real world and the more available are his abilities and needs to self and others.

(k) Known to self	(u) Not known to self
Area of Free Activity 1	Blind Area 3
Hidden or Avoided Area 2	Unknown Area 4

Area 2 is behavior and motivation open to self but kept away from others. In a new group this is a large quadrant because we do not know much about each other. Another illustration is the person who knows well that he resents a particular remark but he keeps it to himself. This is also the area of the hidden agenda.

Area 3, the blind area, represents behavior and motivation not known to self but apparent to others. The simplest illustration is a mannerism in speech or gesture of which the person is unaware--but it is quite obvious to all others. Or an individual may have a need to run the whole show and not be as aware of this as others are.

Area 4, the area of unknown activity where behavior and motivation are known neither to ourselves nor to others. We know this area exists because both the individual and the persons with whom he is associated discover from time to time new behavior or new motives which were there all along. An individual may surprise himself and others for example, by talking over the groups direction; or another person may discover that he has great ability in bringing warring sections together. He never saw himself as a peacemaker before nor did anyone else.

As part of the self-discovery process, encouraged in Human Relations courses, one group was asked to participate in a written exercise. The members were encouraged to note anonymously on cards those of their motives and characteristics which up to this point they consciously tried to hide from their fellow delegates. These cards were

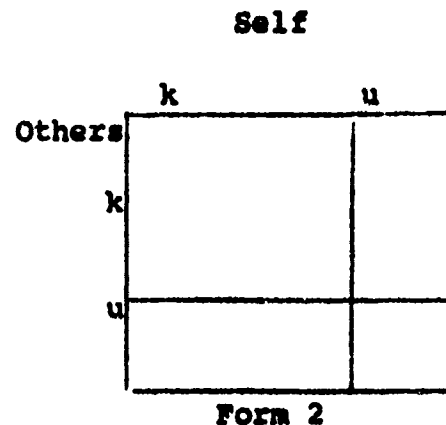
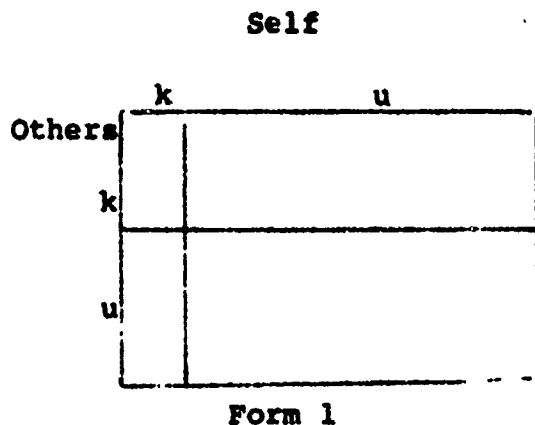
made available to the groups to use or not to use, as they saw fit.

Such exercises as this can be used by groups to enhance and accelerate the learning process.

The Human Relations group method is designed to encourage freer, more open communications of ideas, meanings as well as feelings. If successful, the Johari Windows of various students vis a vis each other should change through time from Form 1 to Form 2. (See diagram below.)

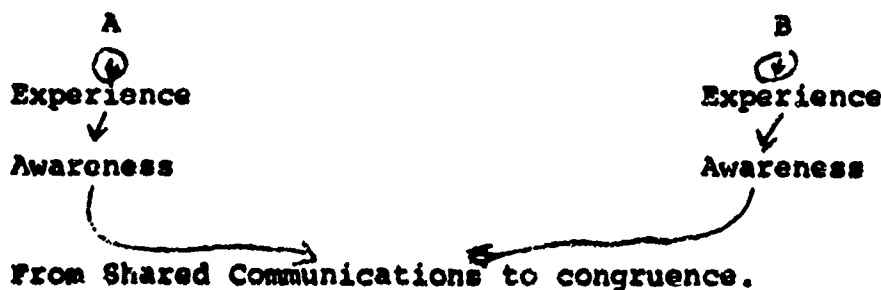
Before Training:

After Training:



C. Congruence (a notion developed by Carl Rogers):

Congruence is essential before meaningful communications between a person and himself and between two or more people is possible. Thus the first quadrant in the Johari Window will be enlarged. Congruence implies that both parties in the communication process permit themselves: a) to become aware of what they experience and truly feel and b) are willing to share their awareness in a free and non-defensive manner.

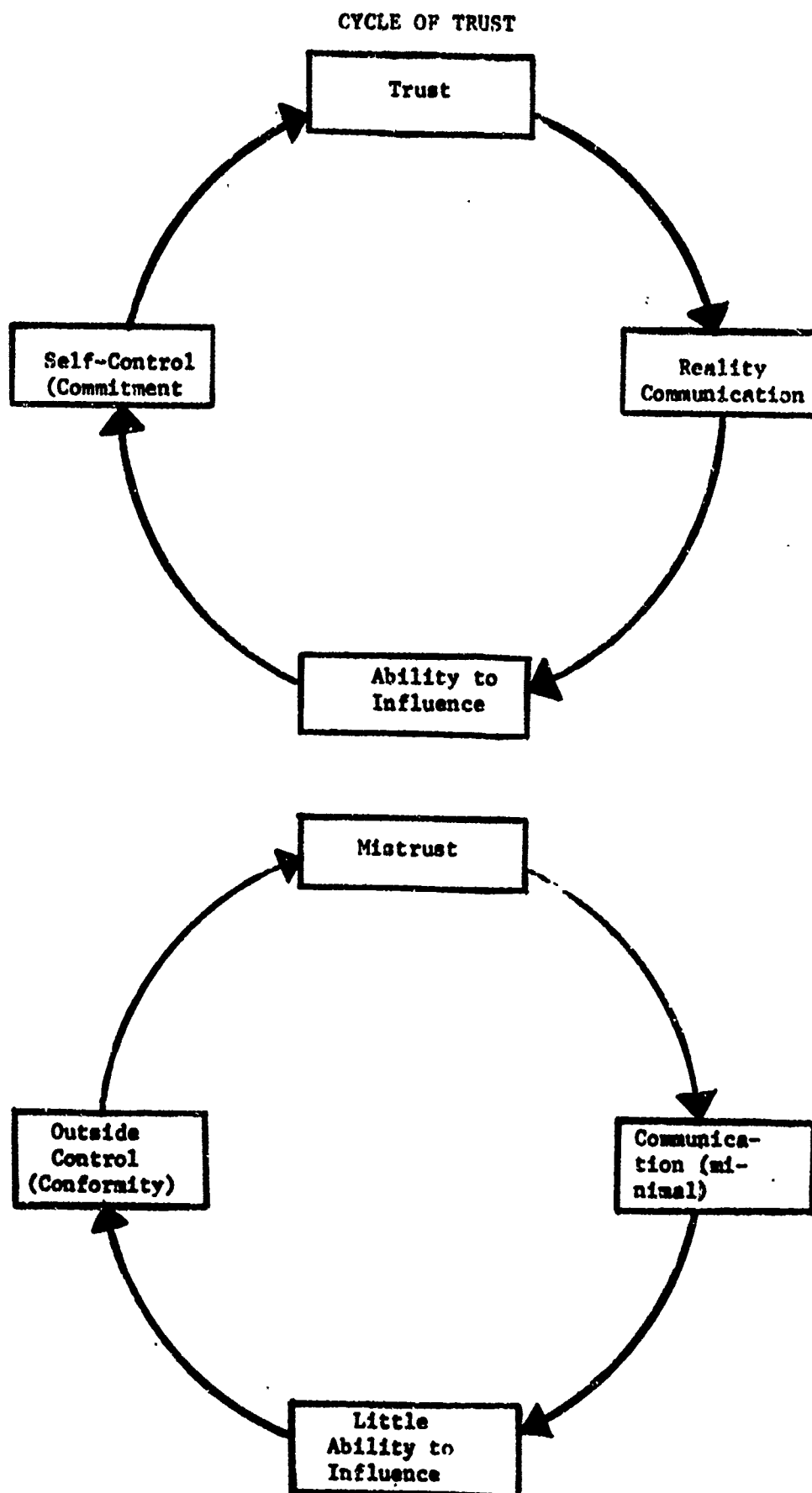


Thinking of congruence as having two aspects is helpful.

***** First, it has to do with the agreement between my image of myself and the way I am. By interpersonal experience, particularly as I see myself through the eyes of others, the

aspect of congruence can be increased.

***** Second, we can think of the amount of congruence between people in their conceptions of some third experience -- person, problem, group, idea, etc. Constructive interaction can lead to a reduction in incongruity and to more adequate conceptions.



DYADIC ENCOUNTER

(Read silently. Do not look ahead in the paper.)

1.

A theme that is frequently voiced when persons are brought together for the first time is, "I'd like to get to know you, but I don't know how." This sentiment often is expressed in encounter groups and emerges in marriage and other dyadic relationships. Getting to know another person involves a learnable set of skills and attitudes. The basic dimensions of encountering another person are self-disclosure, self-awareness, non-possessive caring,

2.

risk-taking, trust, acceptance, and feedback. In an understanding, non-evaluative atmosphere one confides significant data about himself to another, who reciprocates by disclosing himself. This "stretching" results in a greater feeling of trust, understanding, and acceptance, and the relationship becomes closer, allowing more significant self-disclosure and greater risk-taking. As the two continue to share their experience authentically they come to know and trust each other in ways that may enable them to be highly resourceful to each other.

3.

This dyadic encounter experience is designed to facilitate getting to know another person on a fairly intimate level. The discussion items are open-ended statements and can be completed at whatever level of self-disclosure one wishes.

The following ground rules should govern this experience:

4.

All of the data discussed should be kept strictly confidential.

Don't look ahead in the paper.

Each partner responds to each statement before continuing. The statements are to be completed in the order in which they appear. Don't skip items.

You may decline to answer any question by asking your partner.

Stop the exercise when either partner is becoming obviously uncomfortable or anxious. Either partner can skip the exchange.

(Look up. If your partner has finished reading, turn the page and begin.)

page 2. Dyadic Encounter

5.

My name is...

My titles are...

6.

My marital status is...

7.

My hometown is...

8.

The reason I'm here is...

9.

Right now I'm feeling...

10.

11.

One of the most important skills in getting to know another person is listening. In order to get a check on your ability to understand what your partner is communicating, the two of you should go through the following steps one at a time.

Decide which one of you is to speak first in this unit.

The first speaker is to complete the following item in two or three sentences:

12.

When I think about the future, I see myself...

The second speaker repeats in his own words what the first speaker has just said. The first speaker must be satisfied that he has been heard accurately.

The second speaker then completes the item himself in two or three sentences.

The first speaker paraphrases what the second speaker just said, to the satisfaction of the second speaker.

13.

Share what you may have learned about yourself as a listener with your partner. The two of you may find yourselves later saying to each other, "What I hear you saying is..." to keep a check on the accuracy of your listening and understanding.

14.

When I am in a new group I...

page 3. Dyadic Encounter

15.

When I enter a room full of people I usually feel...

16.

When I am feeling anxious in a new situation I usually...

17.

In groups I feel most comfortable when the leader...

18.

Social norms make me feel...

19.

In ambiguous, unstructured situations I...

Listening check: "What I hear you saying is ..."

20.

I am happiest when...

21.

The thing that turns me on the most is ...

22.

Right now I'm feeling...

Look your partner in the eyes while you respond to this item.

23.

The thing that concerns me the most about joining groups is...

24.

When I am rejected I usually...

25.

To me, belonging is...

26.

Forceful leader makes me feel...

27.

Breaking rules that seem arbitrary makes me feel...

28.

I like to be just a follower when...

page 4. Dyadic Encounter

29.

The thing that turns me off the most is...

30.

I feel most affectionate when...

31.

Establish eye contact and hold your partner's hand while completing this item.

Toward you right now, I feel...

32.

When I am alone I usually...

33.

In crowds I...

34.

In a group I usually get most involved when...

Listening check: "What I hear you saying is..."

35.

To me, taking orders from another person...

36.

I am rebellious when...

37.

In a working meeting, having an agenda...

38.

CHECKUP: Have a two or three minute discussion about the experience so far. Keep eye contact as much as you can, and try to cover the following points:

How well are you listening?

How open and honest have you been?

How eager are you to continue this interchange?

Do you feel that you are getting to know each other?

39.

The emotion I find most difficult to control is...

40.

My most frequent daydreams are about...

page 5. Dyadic Encounter

41.

My weakest point is...

42.

I love...

43.

I feel jealous about...

44.

Right now I'm feeling...

45.

I am afraid of...

46.

I believe in...

47.

I am most ashamed of...

48.

Right now I am most reluctant to discuss...

49.

Interracial dating and/or marriage make me feel...

50.

Premarital or extramarital sex...

51.

Right now this experience is making me feel...

52.

Express how you are feeling toward your partner without using words.
You may want to touch. Afterwards, tell what you intended to communicate. Also, explore how this communication felt.

53.

The thing I like best about you is...

54.

You are...

page 6. Dyadic Encounter

55.

What I think you need to know is...

56.

Right now I am responding most to...

57.

I want you to...

58.

Time permitting, you might wish to continue this encounter through topics of your own choosing. Several possibilities are: money, religion, politics, race, marriage, the future, and the two of you.

15.7

LEARNING MODULE XI

CHANGING
ROLE OF
CORRECTIONAL
PERSONNEL

USMC/ONR CORRECTIONAL TRAINING PROJECTPrepared by
Dr. C. L. NewmanCHARACTERISTICS OF FOUR CORRECTIONAL MODELSRESTRAINT

The system and its control of offenders is important. Efficiency of operation is paramount. Rules are specific and rigidly enforced. Emphasis is upon control of the behavior. The system is impersonal. Treat all alike! "Do as you are told." Heavy penalties invoked for major rule infractions. No prisoner-staff relationship except in a subordinate-superior sense.

REFORM

The system is perceived as the mechanism through which prisoner change is effected. Rules are specific and rigidly enforced, but the objective is to induce change in the individual. What the offender's attitudes are do not matter. His compliance with reform objectives becomes paramount. Work rather than custody becomes more important. In the more "progressive" reform facility, education takes a more important role. Staff is divided between custody and work or educational managers.

REHABILITATION

The system is organized around the concept of the "sick person". The offender is seen as a social-psychological problem. Therapy becomes the principle objective. Rules are utilized to facilitate treatment objectives. A tendency to individualize. Custody is called "correctional" and is deemphasized.

REINTEGRATION

The institution is seen as the bridging mechanism for the client's return to a productive community status. Rules exist to provide the client the opportunity to test out his internal controls. The community is seen as a relevant component in the change process. The efficiency of the organization is measured in terms of its de-population, in favor of community resources.

THE LAW

The Shame of the Prisons

It is with the unfortunate, above all, that humane conduct is necessary.

—Dostoevsky

PRESIDENT Nixon calls them "universities of crime." Chief Justice Burger has become a crusader for their reform. Legislators have taken to investigating them—and citizens have finally begun to listen. After decades of ignoring their prisons, Americans are slowly awakening to the failure that long neglect has wrought.

It is not just the riots, the angry cries of 426,000 invisible inmates from the Tombs to Walla Walla, that have made prisons a national issue. Public concern is rooted in the paradox that Americans have never been so fearful of rising crime, yet never so ready to challenge the institutions that try to cope with it. More sensitive to human rights than ever, more liberated in their own lives and outlooks, a growing number of citizens view prisons as a new symbol of unreason, another sign that too much in America has gone wrong.

It is a time when people have discovered with a sense of shock that the blacks who fill prisons (52% in Illinois) see themselves as "political victims" of a racist society. It is a time when many middle-class whites are forced to confront prisons for the first time, there to visit their own children, locked up for possession of pot or drug resistance. A time when many judges have finally begun to make personal—and traumatic—inspections. After a single night at the Nevada State Prison, for example, 23 judges from all over the U.S. emerged "appalled at the homosexuality," shaken by the inmates' "soul-shattering bitterness" and upset by "men raving, screaming and pounding on the walls." Kansas Judge E. Newton Vickers summed up: "I felt like an animal in a cage. Ten years in there must be like 100 or maybe 200." Vickers urged Nevada to "send two bulldozers out there and tear the damn thing to the ground."

The Big House

It will not be easy to raze, much less reform, the misnamed U.S. "corrections" system, which has responsibility for more than 1.2 million offenders each day and handles perhaps twice as many each year. Since 1967, four presidential commissions, dozens of legislative reports and more than 500 books and articles have pleaded for prison reform. But the system remains as immutable as prison concrete, largely because life behind the walls is still a mystery to the public. Most Americans think of prisons only in terms of the old "big house" movies starring James Cagney and more recently Burt Lancaster.

In fact, the corrections system is not a system at all. It is a hodgepodge of un-

coordinated institutions run independently by almost every governmental unit in the U.S. Pacesetter federal institutions (20,000 prisoners) range from maximum-security bastilles like Atlanta Penitentiary to a no-walls unit for tame young offenders in Seagoville, Texas. The states offer anything from Alabama's archaic road gangs to California's Men's Colony West, one of the nation's two prisons for oldsters. There are forestry camps for promising men and assorted detention centers for 14,000 women. Some juvenile institutions are the best of the lot because reformers get the most political support at that level. But many areas are still so lacking in juvenile facilities that 100,000 children a year wind up in adult pens.

The Jail Mess

Two-thirds of all U.S. offenders technically serving time are actually outside the walls on parole or probation, but most offenders have at some point encountered the worst correctional evil: county jails and similar local lockups. Such institutions number 4,037—a fact not even known until last week, when the federal Law Enforcement Assistance Administration published the first national jail census. Jails usually hold misdemeanants serving sentences of a year or less. More important, they detain defendants awaiting trial: 52% of all people in jails have not yet been convicted of any crime. Of those, four out of five are eligible for bail but cannot raise the cash. Because courts are overloaded, unconvicted defendants may linger in crowded cells for months or even years.

To be sure, jails vary widely from two-cell rural hovels to modern urban skyscrapers. But the vast majority treat minor offenders—and the merely accused—more harshly than prisons do felons, who commit graver crimes. The jail mess is typified by New Orleans' Parish Prison, a putrid pen built in 1929 to hold 400 prisoners. It now contains 850—75% of them unsentenced. Money and guards are so short that violent inmates prey on the weak: many four-bunk cells hold seven inmates, mattresses smell of filth and toilets are clogged. Prisoners slap at cockroaches "so big you can almost ride them."

Jail conditions frequently breed hardened criminals who then go on to the prison themselves, the "second anomaly" in a pattern that stands as a monument to irrationality. The typical U.S. felon is sentenced by a judge who may have never seen a prison and has no idea whether a year will suffice. Leaving the courtroom, where his rights were scrupulously respected, the felon has a good chance of being banished to one of 187 escape-proof fortresses, 61 of them built before 1900. Now stripped of most rights, he often arrives in chains

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and becomes a number. His head sheared, he is led to a bare cage dominated by a toilet. In many states his cellmate may represent any kind of human misbehavior—a docile forger, a vicious killer, an aggressive homosexual.

In this perverse climate, he is expected to become socially responsible but is given no chance to do so. He is told when to wake up, eat and sleep; his letters are censored, his visitors sharply limited. His days are spent either in crushing idleness or at jobs that do not exist in the "free world," such as making license plates for a few cents' pay an hour. In some states, he cannot vote (even after his release), own property or keep his wife from divorcing him. He rarely gets adequate medical care or sees a woman. Everything is a privilege, including food, that can be taken away by his keepers.

If he is accused of violating one of scores of petty rules, he is haled before the "adjustment council" without right to counsel. If he denies guilt, he can be punished for implying that his accuser guard lied; if he admits it, he may lose "good time" (eligibility for parole) and perhaps land in solitary. The lesson is clear: truth does not pay.

If he happens to be a rich criminal, a Mafia type, life in some prisons can be easy. Ill-paid "hucks" (guards) may sell him anything from smuggled heroin to a girlish cellmate. More often he is a complete loser; for him, prison is synonymous with poorhouse. Already angry at life's winners, he becomes even more insensitive to others in a doomed universe whose motto is "Do your own time"; trust no one, freeze your mind, be indifferent. Unequipped for normal society, he may well be headed back to prison as soon as he leaves. In fact, he may come to prefer it: Why struggle in a world that hates ex-convicts?

Everyone knows what prisons are supposed to do: cure criminals. Way back in 1870, the nation's leading prison of-

ficials met in Cincinnati and carved 22 principles that became the bible of their craft. "Reformation," they declared, "not vindictive suffering, should be the purpose of the penal treatment of prisoners." Today, every warden in the U.S. endorses the ideal of rehabilitation. Every penologist extols "individualized treatment" to cure each inmate's hang-ups and return society's misfit to crime-free lives. But the rhetoric is so far from reality that perhaps 40% of all released inmates (75% in some areas) are reimprisoned within five years, often for worse crimes. Says Rod Beaty, 33, who began with a \$65 forged check, became an armed robber, and is now a four-time loser in San Quentin: "Here you lose all sense of values. A human life is worth 35¢, the price of a pack of cigarettes. After five years on the inside, how can you expect me to care about somebody when I get outside?"

Slavery in Arkansas

Without question, the U.S. boasts some prisons that look like college campuses—humane places that lack walls and shun official brutality. Guards chat amiably with inmates; men are classified in graded groups, promoted for good conduct and sped toward parole.

And yet, rehabilitation is rare. By and large, mere aging is the main cause of going straight. For inmates between the ages of 15 and 30—the vast majority—neither the type of prison nor the length of sentence makes any significant difference. The repeater rate, in fact, is rising. Something is clearly wrong with a system that spends \$1 billion a year to produce a failure record that would sink any business in a month. Consider a random sample of prisons from the worst to the best:

ARKANSAS. Whether in 110° F. summer heat or winter cold, 16,000 acres of rich southeastern Arkansas land will always be tilled. This is the Cummins Prison Farm, where 200 convicts stoop in

the vast cotton fields twelve hours a day, 5½ days a week—for zero pay. Such are the wages of sin in what may be the nation's most Calvinistic state.

A virtual slave plantation in the 20th century, Cummins takes all kinds of errands and turns them into white-clad "rankers" who work or perish. Toiling from dawn to dusk, they move in a long line across the fields, supervised by a horseman in khaki and five unmounted "shotguns" (guards) who "push" the serfs along. At each corner of the field stands another guard, armed with a high-powered rifle. All the guards are convicts, the toughest at Cummins. Hated by rankers, the trustees are picked for meanness in order to keep them alive off duty. They are killers, armed robbers, rapists—ready to gun down the first ranker who strays across an imaginary line in the fields.

After three skeletons were dug up on the farm in 1968, national publicity moved the state to do a little fixing. Gun-toting trustees lost some power, 60 more free-world staffers arrived, \$450,000 was allotted to replace some men and mules with farm machinery. Robert Sarver, head of the Arkansas penal system, is pushing hard for improvement against stiff odds. But Cummins still lacks any schooling, counseling or job training. For a college-trained social worker, the state pays only \$593 a month; Cummins can barely attract civilian guards (\$330). Says Sarver: "We can't guarantee a man's safety."

Last year U.S. District Judge J. Smith Henley ruled that imprisonment in Arkansas amounts to unconstitutional "banishment from civilized society to a dark and evil world." He ordered the state to reform Cummins by the fall of 1971 or face an order to close the place. But the evil world persists. With no pay, Cummins prisoners survive by selling their blood or bodies. To blot out the place, they sniff glue and gobble smuggled pills. Some mornings, 200

PRISONERS IN TIERED CELL IN LOUISIANA



LOUISIANA PRISON - BARRETT



DINNER AT TEXAS STATE PENITENTIARY

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BAKER LYON—MAGNUM



FIELD WORK UNDER GUARD
CELL AT TEXAS STATE



men are too stoned to work. Since gambling is pervasive, loan sharks top the prison pecking order. They charge 50¢ per dollar a week and swiftly punish defaulters. In a single month last summer, Cummins recorded 19 stabbings, assaults and attempted rapes. The worst of it is the privacy-robbing barracks, where 100-bunk rooms house all types, from harmless chicken thieves to homicidal sadists, and the young spend all night repelling "creepers" (rapists). "You're all there in the open," shudders a recently released car thief named Frank. "Someone's stinking feet in your face, radios going, guys gambling. You never really get to sleep. What's worse is the fear. There's no protection for your life. I kept thinking 'if I get out—not when.'"

INDIANA. With its 40-ft. walls, the gray castle in Michigan City looks its part: a maximum-security pen for 1,800 felons, including teen-age lifers. Inside, the walls flake, the wiring sputters and the place is falling apart. Indiana spends only 1.5% of its state budget on all forms of correction.

Like many legislatures, Indiana's insists that prisons make a profit. Last year Indiana State Prison turned out 3.5 million license plates, among other things, and netted the taxpayers \$600,000—no problem when inmates get 20¢ an hour. Inmates also provided the prison's few amenities. Many cells are jammed with books, pictures, record players and tropical fish in elaborate tanks. There are two baseball diamonds, three miniature golf courses, tennis, basketball and handball courts—all equipment paid for by the inmates' recreation fund.

The prison needs far more than play. It teems with bitter men, one-third of them black. Some of the toughest are young militants transferred from Indiana State Reformatory at Pendleton, where 225 blacks staged a sitdown last year to protest the prolonged solitary confinement of their leaders. Instead of using tear gas or other nonlethal weapons, Pendleton guards fired shotguns pointblank into the unarmed crowd, killing two blacks and seriously wounding 45. One officer gasped: "They slaughtered them like pigs."

At Indiana State, Pendleton survivors and other young blacks grate against 245 guards, most of them middle-aged whites and some close to 70. This is a U.S. pattern: only 26% of all prison guards are younger than 34; only 8% are black. To compound Indiana State's age and racial tensions, only a third of the inmates actually work. Boredom is chronic. The prison has only 27 rehabilitation workers; job training is absurd. Since the state provides few tools, vocational classes make do with donated equipment: archaic sewing machines, obsolete typewriters, TV sets dating to Milton Berle.

Why not send some promising Indiana inmates to work or school outside? "Their victims would disagree,"

says Warden Russell Lash, a former FBI agent. Lash, only 29, is a good man hampered by his budget and the voters' fears. His first duty, he says, is "custody."

CALIFORNIA. Though it leads all states in systematic penology, California has the nation's highest crime rate. Critics also claim that the system is characterized by a kind of penal paternalism that becomes psychological torment. In a much touted reform, California judges give indeterminate sentences; corrections officials then determine each offender's fate according to his presumably well-tested behavior. Thus 66% of all convicted offenders get probation, 6% work in 20-man forestry crews, and only 13.5% of felons go to prison. Despite rising crime, California's prison population (26,500) has actually dropped by 2,000 in the past two years.

All this saves millions in unneeded prison construction. But it fills prisons with a higher ratio of hard-core inmates who disrupt the rest. And because of indeterminate sentences, California "corrects" offenders longer than any other state by a seemingly endless process (median prison stay: 36 months) that stirs anger against the not always skilled correctors. Says one San Quentin official: "It's like going to school, and never knowing when you'll graduate."

Something is not quite right even at the state's cushiest "correctional facilities" (bureaucratese for prisons), some of which could pass for prep schools. At no-walls Tehachapi, near Bakersfield, inmates can keep pianos in their unbarred rooms, get weekend passes and join their wives at "motels" on the lush green premises. Yet Tehachapi is full of repeaters, prison-dependent men who soon violate their paroles and return.

These days, California's black prisoners are rebelling at places like Soledad, a seeming garden spot in the Salinas Valley that looks like a university campus. Soledad's 960 acres throb with activity: tennis, basketball, weight lifting, a dairy, a hog farm. Inmates earn up to \$24 a month turning out toilet paper and handsome furniture for the judges and prosecutors who got them the jobs. But for 180 rebels confined in Soledad's "X" and "O" wings, there is no play or work. Because they scorn prison rules, they are locked up tighter than lions in a zoo.

Many are blacks who see themselves as political victims, others whites who hate the blacks. Racial tension is so bad that some prisoners wear thick magazines strapped to their backs to ward off knife blades. In January 1969, the prisoners were allowed to exercise together in a small yard. Before long, a guard shot and killed three blacks. According to the guard's testimony before a Monterey County grand jury, the blacks were beating a white inmate. The guard said that he fired a warning shot, then killed the attackers. Though black witnesses insisted that there was no warning shot, the grand jury ruled

justifiable homicide. As Soledad not long after that ruling, a white guard was thrown off a balcony to his death.

The accused killers are three unrelated blacks who call themselves the Soledad Brothers. They include George Jackson (see page 54), one of the angriest black men. In one of his many despairing letters to Angela Davis, the black Communist, Jackson wrote: "They've created in me one irate, resentful nigger—and it's building."

Costly Cages

The idea that imprisonment "corrects" criminals is a U.S. invention. Before the 18th century, prisons mainly detained debtors and the accused. Punishment itself was swift and to the point. Europeans castrated rapists and cut off thieves' hands; the Puritans put crooks in stocks and whipped blasphemers—then forgave them.

In 1790, Philadelphia's Quakers started a humane alternative to corporal punishment: they locked errants in solitary cells until death or penitence (source of penitentiary). Soon the U.S. was dotted with huge, costly, isolated cages that deepened public fear of those inside and reinforced a U.S. spirit of vengeance against prison inmates.

Caging has crippled the entire system. Burdened with vast forts that refuse to crumble (25 prisons are more than 100 years old), wardens cope with as many as 4,000 inmates, compared with the 100 that many penologists recommend. Archaic buildings make it difficult to separate tractable from intractable men, a key step toward rehabilitation. The big numbers pit a minority against a majority, the guards against the prisoners. Obsessed with "control," guards try to keep inmates divided, often by using the strong to cow the weak. The result is an inmate culture, enforced by fist or knife, that spurs passivity and destroys character.

Even though two-thirds of all offenders are on parole or probation, they get the least attention: 80% of the U.S. correctional budget goes to jails and prisons; most of the nation's 121,000 correctional employees simply guard inmates and worry about security. Only 20% of the country's correctors work at rehabilitation and only 2% of all inmates are exposed to any innovative treatment.

Federal prisons lead most of the U.S. in job training; yet few released federal inmates find jobs related to their prison work. With notable exceptions, like California, most states provide no usable training, partly because unions and business have lobbied for laws blocking competition by prison industries. At least one-third of all inmates simply keep the prison clean or do nothing. Most of them need psychiatric help. Despite this, there are only 50 full-time psychiatrists for all American prisons, 15 of them in federal institutions, which hold only 4% of all prisoners.

The failure of American prisons, hu-

mane or inhumane, to change criminal behavior is hardly their fault alone. The entire American criminal justice system shares the blame. It is perfectly human, if somewhat bizarre, for a criminal to see himself as a victim. The U.S. reinforces that defense: most crimes are committed for economic reasons by the poor, the blacks and other have-nots of a society that stresses material gain. In fact, only 20% of reported U.S. crimes are solved; half the crimes are never even reported. Since justice is neither swift nor certain, the caught criminal often sees his problem as mere bad luck in a country where "everyone else" gets away with it.

He has a point. Americans widely ig-



JAIL RIOT IN NEW YORK CITY
A monument to irrationality.

more laws they dislike, whether against gambling or marijuana. The nicest people steal; roughly 75% of insurance claims are partly fraudulent. Uncaught employees pocket \$1 billion a year from their employers. To poor offenders who go to jail without bail the system is unfair, and the legal process strengthens that opinion. If a man cannot afford a good lawyer, he is pressured to plead guilty without a trial, as do 90% of all criminal defendants. He then discovers that for the same crime, different judges hand out wildly disparate sentences, from which 31 states and the federal courts allow no appeal.

So the prison gets a man who has the reason to respect state-upheld

ues. Even if he actually leaves prison as a reformed character, he faces hazards for which no prison can be blamed. In a Harris poll, 72% of Americans endorsed rehabilitation as the prison goal. But when it came to hiring an ex-armed robber who had shot someone, for example, 43% would hesitate to employ him as janitor, much less as a salesman (54%) or a clerk handling money (71%). This is obviously understandable; it also teaches ex-cons that crime pays because nothing else does.

Even parole supervision is often capricious and capricious. Many parole agents handle more than 100 cases; one 15-minute interview per month per man is typical. The agents can also rule a parolee's entire life, even forbid him to see or marry his girl, all on pain of reimprisonment—a usually unappealable decision made by parole agents, who thus have a rarely examined effect on the repeater rate. To test their judgment, Criminologists James Robison and Paul Takagi once submitted ten hypothetical parole-violator cases to 316 agents in California. Only five voted to reimprison all ten men; half wanted to return some men but disagreed on which ones.

Groping for Change

Can prisons be abolished? Not yet. Perhaps 15% or 20% of inmates are dangerous or unreformable. Still, countless experts agree that at least half of today's inmates would do far better outside prison. President Johnson's crime commission advocated a far greater shift to "community-based corrections" in which prisons would be a last resort, preceded by many interim options designed to keep a man as close as possible to his family, job and normal life—not caged and losing all self-reliance.

Sweden provides a fascinating model. Each year, 80% of its convicted offenders get a suspended sentence or probation, but forfeit one-third of their daily pay for a period determined by the seriousness of their offenses. The fine can be a tidy sum. After Film Maker Ingmar Bergman angrily cuffed a critic two years ago, he was convicted of disturbing the peace and fined for a 20-day period. Total: \$1,000.

Swedes who actually enter prison mostly work in attached factories, earning nominal wages to make products for the state. Some promising long-term inmates attend daytime classes at nearby schools and colleges. All live in comfortable private rooms, furnished with desks and curtains, and are eligible for short, regular furloughs to visit their families. For several summers, groups of ten or so life-termers have been given three-week vacations, accompanied by only two guards.

Most of Sweden's 90 prisons contain no more than 120 inmates; one-third of all inmates live in open institutions without bars or walls. Guns are unheard of, some wardens are women, and inmates often carry keys to their own rooms. The escape rate is high

(8%), but fugitives are rapidly caught, and Swedes are more interested in the statistic that really counts: in a country where the average prison sentence is only five months, the repeater rate is a mere 15%.

With its small, homogeneous population, Sweden has advantages that cannot be duplicated in urban, congested, racially tense America. Even so, the U.S. is groping in the Swedish direction—slowly:

► In New York City, a pioneering program started by the Vera Foundation waives money bail for offenders who can show job stability or family ties pending trial. Results suggest that perhaps 50% of jail inmates could be freed in this way, cutting the U.S. jail bill (\$324 million per year) by half.

► Kansas has heeded Psychiatrist Karl Menninger, a searing prison critic (*The Crime of Punishment*), and set up a felon's "diagnostic center" near the Menninger Clinic in Topeka. The state now sends all prison-bound felons to the center for exhaustive tests by four full-time psychiatrists and numerous other experts. Result: half these men get probation. Among all such Kansas probationers, the failure rate has dropped to 25%, much less than in other states. Congress has approved a similar \$15 million center in New York City to screen federal defendants after arrest.

► North Carolina's innovating "work-release" program (also common in federal prisons) sends 1,000 promising inmates into the free world each day to function normally as factory workers, hospital attendants, truck drivers. Another 45 prisoners are day students at nearby colleges; one did so well that he got a faculty job offer.

► Senator Mike Mansfield has introduced a bill that would pay up to \$25,000 apiece to victims of federal crimes, then empower the Justice Department to sue convicted offenders to recover the money. States would get federal grants to copy the plan. Of all U.S. offenses, 87% are property crimes, and restitution as the entire punishment makes sense in many cases unless violence is involved. Variations include Sociologist Charles Tittle's idea: the state would repay victims immediately, then confine and employ property offenders at union wages, keeping half their pay and putting the rest in trust for their use upon release.

The big trouble is that penology (from the Latin *poena*, meaning penalty) is still an infant art given to fads and guesswork, like the 1920s reformers who yanked tens of thousands of teeth from hapless inmates on the theory that bad teeth induced criminality. Even now, penology has not begun to exploit the findings of behavioral scientists who believe that criminal behavior is learned, and can be unlearned with the proper scientific methods.

They know that misbehavior can be changed by "punishment" if a reward for good behavior follows very swiftly.

If a reward (like parole) is delayed too long, they say, the subject forgets what he is being punished for, becomes aggressive and may go insane. In this sense, the Puritan use of stocks followed by forgiveness worked far better than U.S. prison terms, some of them as incredibly long as 500 or even 1,500 years. For many U.S. offenders, especially first-timers, the mere shame of arrest and conviction is quite enough to prevent repetition.

Applying the principle of "response cost," some psychologists also say that a punishment must be in the same terms as the crime. Instead of fining a speeder, for example, they would immediately impound his car or license and make him walk home. Conversely, a cash theft might be dealt with not by jail but by

a stiff fine equivalent to reparation. Another possibility for changing criminal behavior is "aversion therapy," which is used, for example, to cure bed wetting in children. Instead of chiding or coddling the child, the therapist has him sleep on a low-voltage electric blanket linked to a battery and a bell. Urine, which is electrolytic, then activates the bell, the child awakes and goes to the bathroom. A cure usually follows soon.

Since crime is often emotionally satisfying, a major problem is how to banish its thrills. One way is suggested by the work of Psychologist Ivar Lovaas with certain disturbed children who consistently try to mutilate themselves. He noticed that when the children went on a rampage, nurses warmly cuddled them and thus unconsciously rewarded their

From Killers to Priests:

Most U.S. inmates are faceless, nameless men—mere crime statistics converted to prison numbers. But even behind the walls, some have overcome that anonymity, or retained their original notoriety. Among them:



SMITH



JACKSON



HOFFA

EDGAR SMITH. No American has endured death row longer (13 years, 7 months) than Edgar Smith—and few inmates have achieved greater self-rehabilitation. In 1957 he was a high school dropout of 23, an ex-Marine and jobless drifter. That summer he was charged with killing an acquaintance, a Ramsey, N.J., schoolgirl whose body was found in a deserted sand pit, her skull crushed by a 14-lb. boulder. Though Smith vehemently denied guilt, he was convicted on circumstantial evidence and sentenced to die in the electric chair at Trenton State Penitentiary. Instead of vegetating in his cell, Smith, now 36, has fully employed his genius-level IQ (154). He has read scores of books, rushed through college correspondence courses and written two published books, one a novel (*A Reasonable Doubt*) and the other a blast at U.S. justice (*Brief Against Death*). Still proclaiming his innocence, he has also become a first-rate jailhouse lawyer, personally filing appeals that even the judge who sentenced him admits show "the consummate skill of a seasoned practitioner."

GEORGE JACKSON. As a small boy growing up in one of Chicago's black ghettos, Jackson was so intrigued by his first sight of a white skin that he walked up and touched it. His curiosity earned him a swift blow on the head with a baseball bat. Since that time, Jackson, whose brother Jonathan was cut down while leading a raid on the Marin County courthouse last August, has battled white society. For eleven years, Jackson, 29, has served time in California prisons for the \$70 robbery of a gas station—7½ years of that time in solitary confinement. Though eligible for parole after his first six months, he has been repeatedly turned down, and continues to promote black rage and militancy among inmates. His own rage has gone partly into self-help training: 1,000 push-ups a day, heavy reading, and the writing of letters so striking that they have recently been published in a book, *Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson*. He now sits in San Quentin's maximum-security wing, awaiting trial on new charges of murdering a white prison guard at Soledad Prison last year. If convicted, Jackson faces a mandatory sentence: death in the gas chamber.

JAMES HOFFA. Once the omnipotent union boss who ruled the nation's 1,650,000 Teamsters from his elegant Washington office, Jimmy Hoffa, 57, now lives in a first-floor cell in the medium-security federal prison at Lewisburg, Pa. During the first four years of his eight-year term for

destructiveness. Instead, he says, the kids with an electric cattle prod, often stopping the behavior pattern in hours or minutes. In his book *Crime and Personality*, Psychologist H.J. Eysenck offers a fascinating discussion of how certain depressant or stimulant drugs can be used to make a patient feel sick whenever he commits a specific antisocial act. "Given the time and resources," adds Psychologist Barry F. Singer, "a behavior-therapy program could make a bank robber want to vomit every time he saw a bank, could make an armed robber shudder every time he saw a gun."

Unhappily, all this seems remote. Only a fraction of 1% of the nation's entire crime-control budget is even spent on research. Beyond that, the system is mired

in bureaucratic inertia and fiddle-faddle. Many exciting ideas are never institutionalized, the same problem that impedes school reform. In 1965, Psychologist J. Douglas Grant and his wife put 18 hardened California inmates (half of them armed robbers) to work studying how to salvage their peers. They blossomed into impressive researchers, skilled at statistics, interviews, proposal writing and the rest. Today, 13 of Grant's men are doing the same work outside. One former illiterate is getting a doctorate, one man heads a poverty-research company, two are federal poverty officials. Only one is back in prison. To Grant, this shows that criminals can be cured by trying their best to cure other criminals—an idea confirmed by many other experiments and self-

help groups like Synanon and Alcoholics Anonymous.

But prison officials rebuffed Grant's idea, just as they do the work of other ex-convict groups seeking the same result. Instead of self-help, they favor trained officials working with fewer prisoners or parolees, a costly process that may well have little or no effect on the repeater rate. Thus skeptics wonder about efforts like the Federal Government's new \$10.2 million Robert F. Kennedy Youth Center in Morgantown, W. Va., where 180 staffers work on a mere 200 teen-age offenders, two-thirds of them car thieves. After detailed classification (from "inadequate-immature" to "socialized-subcultural"), the kids are plunged into quasi-capitalism: an incentive system that pays each boy points and pennies for doing his chores and studies well. The pennies are used for room rent and other needs, the points for earning privileges. The idea is intriguing, but the yearly cost per boy is huge (\$9,000 v. \$6,000 in an average juvenile home), and the results are not yet clear.

25¢ on the Dollar

Criminologist James Robison, who does research for the California legislature, is among those who question the accuracy of many penal statistics. He even disputes the much-vaunted results of the California Youth Authority's Community Treatment Project, a famous experiment in which convicted juvenile delinquents were not confined but given intensive tutoring and psychotherapy. After five years, only 28% had their paroles revoked, compared with 52% of another group that was locked up after conviction. As a result, the state expanded the project and cut back on new reformatories, saving millions. Robison, though, has proved, at least to his satisfaction, that the experimenters stacked the deck by ignoring many of the kids' parole violations. He argues that most penal-reform funds are wasted on salaries for bureaucrats, who mainly worry about pleasing their bosses. "For every dollar spent on the criminal justice system," he insists, "we get back about a quarter's worth of crime control."

Given the facts of penal bureaucracy and sheer ignorance, critics like Robison sometimes wonder whether the only rational solution is simply to unlock all jails and prisons, which clearly breed crime and hold only 5% of the nation's criminal population while costing far more to run than all the crimes committed by their inmates. Pessimism is well founded, but the encouraging sign is that few if any Americans defend the system as it is. From the President to the lowliest felon, the nation wants a humane system that truly curbs crime. This is the year of the prisons, the year when Congress may double federal spending (to \$300 million) to spur local reform, the year when something may finally get done and Americans may well heed Dostoevsky's goading words.

Six Men Behind the Bars

jury tampering. Hoffa the tough guy has seemingly been a model prisoner. He spends most of his days working in a humid subbasement shop making and repairing mattresses for his fellow prisoners. He gets no pay, whereas his former salary was \$100,000 a year. Polite but somewhat remote from other inmates, Hoffa lifts barbells in the prison gym, attends church services, does a lot of reading and takes periodic walks round the prison's quarter-mile circular track. He may not walk out of the prison gates for many years. Rejected for parole in 1969, he gets a second chance this March. But if his current appeals fail, he faces four more five-year sentences on charges that he misused union funds.

THE BERRIGANS. After being convicted for their 1967-68 draft-board raids in Baltimore and Catonsville, Md., the nation's most famous peace criminals, Fathers Daniel and Philip Berrigan, jumped bail and eluded FBI agents for weeks before their capture last year. Despite their confinement in the minimum-security federal prison at Danbury, Conn., the two Roman Catholic priests are still bucking the system. Daniel, 49, a Jesuit and poet, is serving a three-year sentence and working as a dental assistant. Philip, 47, a member of the Josephite fathers and a polemicist, is in for six years and doing office work. Together they lead a great books seminar for their fellow inmates. But the imprisoned priests' main interest is prison reform. As self-assigned advocates for the nation's 20,000 federal prisoners, the Berrigans have already filed a class-action suit asking federal courts to halt censorship of prisoners' manuscripts, and to allow all inmates to preach, write and teach freely behind the walls.

JAMES EARL RAY. Officially, he is just another state prisoner in cellblock C at Brushy Mountain Penitentiary in Petros, Tenn. But Warden Lewis Tollett keeps a special eye on the man who is serving 99 years for the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and vows that he will never escape. Indeed, Ray, 42, would need a miracle to bust out of Tennessee's only maximum-security prison, a stark structure of white stone in the rugged Cumberland Mountains, where inmates used to dig coal round the clock for 25¢ a ton. Things are far better now, but only a masochist would try to get away. Ray's isolated world consists of his cellblock's 21 other inmates, some of them blacks. Up at 5:30 a.m., he spends eight hours a day as a "block man" (janitor) sweeping and mopping the place, gets a brief recess in the prison gym. At 5 p.m., he is locked up, then toils over his typewriter. Ray and his lawyers still hope for a new trial in state criminal court in Memphis, so each night he churns out more legal memorandums for the lawyers before going to sleep.



DAN BERRIGAN



PHIL BERRIGAN



RAY

THE LAW

Military Prisons: About Face

Riots, racism and guard brutality used to be facts of life at U.S. military prisons from the Marine brig at Camp Pendleton, Calif., to the Army's Long Binh jail in Viet Nam. Last year a blue-ribbon panel of civilian penologists visited 23 Army lockups, found most of them dismal, and issued a critical 133-page report. Aware of the problems, the Pentagon urged sweeping reforms.

Last month TIME correspondents visited U.S. military prisons all over the world to check on the progress. The military, they found, has reformed its prisons with dramatic speed. With very few exceptions, service prisoners are now treated far better than civilian inmates. Items:

AT LONG BINH JAIL, where 739 overcrowded prisoners rioted in 1968, the inmate population has been cut to between 400 and 450. "LBJ" has fewer problems now under a new commander, Lieut. Colonel Paul Grossheim, a big, stone-faced Iowan with a master's degree in criminology and penology. Says David Addlestone, a civilian defense lawyer for G.I.s in Viet Nam: "I came here really hot to dust the place over and just haven't found that many serious complaints."

AT CAMP PENDLETON, where Marine guards reportedly used to beat hog-tied inmates, the brig population has been halved to less than 500, and a new \$2,500,000 facility will open in August. Captain Sam Saxton, an assistant warden, has helped improve the guards' caliber. "When we see a guard going sour," says Saxton, "he's out of here in 72 hours."

AT FORT DIX, N.J., where the Army stockade was a mess last year, Lieut. Colonel Arthur Friedman has launched dramatic reforms in line with his motto, "Firm but fair." To Friedman, a huge 240-pounder, his slogan means clean

kitchens, well-trained guards and innovative programs for 446 inmates. Since he took charge 15 months ago, Friedman has started college-preparatory classes, given the inmates a real drug-therapy program complete with talks by ex-addicts, and allowed selected prisoners off-base privileges.

Goosed by Scandal. Aimed at preserving discipline, military justice has always outdone civilian law in providing swift, certain punishment. Goosed by scandal, though, the military has now awakened to the fact that harsh punishment can defeat its urgent efforts to recruit and retain good career men. Says Marine Lieut. Colonel Archie Van Winkle: "We can't afford to keep the prisoner locked up; we want him back."

Not only is it cheaper to "correct" military errands than to draft and train replacements, it is also easier. The vast majority of military prisoners are not criminals and would go free in a civilian setting. More than 75% of them are in for purely military offenses, such as absence without leave. Only an estimated 15% are accused of civilian-style felonies.

At Fort Riley, Kans., 634 Army "retrainees" are now getting an eight-week course that stresses military (358 hours) and motivational (143 hours) training. "It's the same Army," says one former Riley inmate, "but it's better people." At the Fort Leavenworth disciplinary barracks, activities include a thriving Jaycees chapter, plus training in computer programming, color-TV repair and silk-screen processing.

The retraining center at Colorado's Lowry Air Force Base now spends \$25 a day per prisoner, compared with \$10.45 in federal prisons and \$1.50 at the New Orleans Parish Prison. At Lowry, which boasts 144 assorted counselors for 220 prisoners, the retraining begins with a battery of psychological and educational tests, proceeds to freewheeling

group-therapy sessions that discuss alcoholism, drugs and racism, then moves into academic or vocational programs. Lowry's atmosphere is so free that tales of prisoners' disbelief abound: to test the system, one skeptic walked off the base and waited for the MPs to converge. When none came, he meekly returned to his quarters, convinced of official good intentions.

Civilian prisoners would be equally surprised by "the castle"—the Navy brig in Portsmouth, N.H. To look after 480 inmates, it has 370 guards and other staff members, including three psychologists, four psychiatrists, and six chaplains. The white-towered castle is run by Marine Colonel Walter Domina, a cigar-smoking former fighter pilot who offers his prisoners a choice of 25 vocational-training programs. The prison library is stocked with 11,000 books; inmates are allowed to publish their own magazine, complete with girlie pictures, which they get from the Armed Forces Press Service. Since Domina took over last July, the chapel services have changed as well. "How can you expect a 20-year-old to listen to *Onward, Christian Soldiers*?" asks Domina. Last month Portsmouth enjoyed its first folk mass.

All is not perfect, of course, even at Portsmouth. Incurrigibles are still likely to land in "the hole": solitary confinement below ground in dank semi-darkness. The Navy is also investigating reports that Portsmouth has a major drug-trafficking problem. But such black marks pale in comparison with the grim conditions at one of the military's least reformed prisons: the Army stockade at Mannheim, Germany.

Atypical Situation. Mannheim, commanded by Major Harry Crawford, houses 300 of the 425 G.I. prisoners in Europe and is almost a carbon copy of the worst civilian prison facilities in the U.S. Guarded by four watchtowers with spotlights, the stark brick structure is surrounded by two 7-ft.-high rows of barbed wire. Few if any prisoners at Mannheim are rehabilitated. Homosex-

uality is rampant and drugs abound. Tension between white and black inmates is so bad that guards simply let each group run its part of the jungle. Says one white inmate: "You can survive if you stay away from the brothers." Last month one white was cut across the face and chest by black prisoners wielding razor blades; another was raped by a gang of blacks.

Happily, the Mannheim situation is atypical for the 1971 military correctional system. More than half of Fort Riley's 18,000 Army retrainees, for example, are now either back on duty or have received honorable discharges. At the Air Force's Lowry retraining facility, 77.6% of the inmates return to duty. The Marines' return rate is even higher: 79.4%. The military may not have completely solved the mysteries of rehabilitation, but it has surely outperformed most civilian prisons.



MANNHEIM STOCKADE GUARD



STEVE HANSEN

A TIMES SPECIAL REPORT

How Other Nations Handle Prisoners

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best available copy.

Every nation of the world has its prisons—and its prisoners.

Steel doors slam shut alike on Briton and Japanese, or on a U.S. citizen who has tasted foreign justice in a foreign land.

In the aftermath to violence behind the high walls of Attica and San Quentin, the prison systems of New York and California have come under close scrutiny.

But what about the other nations of the world? What kind of life do prisoners find behind the walls and wire of foreign prisons? Are there riots? Is there brutality? Rehabilitation? Recidivism?

In a study of the world's penal systems, *The Times'* correspondents in foreign nations report the differences — and similarities — of the realms that exist behind bars:

—All prisons use solitary confinement as a tool of discipline. The other tools vary. Most systems reward good behavior with improved conditions. In Russia prisoners' infractions are punished by taking away their food; in Mexico by taking away their conjugal visits.

Guards Highly Trained

—In Japan, Germany and Argentina guards are highly trained specialists. All personnel at Argentina's federal prisons must be graduates of the National Penitentiary School. The German guard's apprenticeship lasts 18 months. In Japan 40% of the guards are college graduates.

—In other nations almost anyone can become a guard. The British have no special system for picking guards. In Russia guards are army conscripts who keep their jobs a secret from their families. Israeli guards are ill paid and even the head of the prison system wants to quit.

—The most dangerous prisoners are centralized in Canada, dispersed in Great Britain, sent to jungle prisons in Colombia, Peru, Venezuela and Bolivia, and to ancient, dungeon-like strongholds in the rural provinces of France.

—And unlike Attica, where officials negotiated with those who held hostages, none of the countries surveyed has a policy of negotiating under duress.

All prison systems face two problems: maintaining discipline and curbing recidivism.

When discipline breaks down,

Times staff members who contributed to this report on prisons are: James Bassett, Ottawa; David F. Belnap, Buenos Aires; Don Cook, Paris; Sam Jameson, Tokyo; Francis B. Kent, Mexico City; Tom Lambert, Jerusalem; Joe Alex Morris Jr., Bonn; Richard Kesten, London; Harry Trimborn, Moscow, and William Tuohy, Rome. It was written by Dial Torgerson.

riots occur. Authorities everywhere must decide: how harsh must discipline be to maintain control?

Recidivism is the return of a released prisoner to crime and, thereafter, to prison. In each country penologists must seek the answer to one of the world's most difficult questions: what sort of program rehabilitates the inmate?

Riots are not only a U.S. problem. Men without freedom exist in every land, and, in even the world's most civilized nations, those men from time to time rebel against the guards on the walls surrounding them.

Major Riots Outlined

Among major postwar prison riots were these:

—In August, 1946, 1,000 prisoners rioted in an Osaka, Japan, prison, 116 escaped and 54 others were shot —one fatally—by guards. (There were four other major riots in postwar Japan, the last in 1949.)

—A sudden outbreak of riots wracked prisons in Turin, Milan and Genoa, Italy, in 1969, with hostages seized and property damage high. "After awhile," said an Italian official, "the prisoners got tired and quit."

—Sixty prisoners escaped when Arab inmates, led by convicted Egyptian spy Ahmed Otman, used makeshift torches to storm out of Israel's Shata Prison in 1958. Eleven prisoners and two guards were killed. Otman, recaptured, served out his Israeli sentence, returned to Egypt—and was imprisoned as an Israeli spy.

Please Turn to Page 16, Col. 1

Continued from First Page

—One inmate was killed, 27 were injured by guards and \$2.5 million in fire damage incurred in a 1962 riot in a Canadian prison in Quebec; two inmates were killed (by fellow prisoners) in a riot last April in a prison at Kingston, Ontario, in which 48 hostages were seized but later released.

—Using only clubs, British guards stormed and recaptured a wing of Parkhurst Prison on the Isle of Wight taken by 100 rebellious prisoners in a 1969 riot. Seven ringleaders had from 18 months to six years added to their sentences.

—Three hundred political prisoners who were members of the Secret Army Organization during the Algerian war staged France's only postwar prison riot in February, 1962. The tough French prison system crushed it in an hour.

Russia, with perhaps the world's largest prison population, hasn't made news of any revolts public. Prisoners involved probably wouldn't survive to tell. Under Soviet law inmates involved in an uprising such as that at Attica would suffer death penalty.

What curbs recidivism?

"We really don't know," Raymond K. Procunier, director of the California Department of Corrections, once said. "It could be something as simple as the love of a good woman."

The foreign experience is equally perplexing.

In France prisons are places of incarceration, not rehabilitation. Recidivism is rare, and few repeat criminals.

In Japan penology is a well-established science. Every inmate has a job, and inmates are carefully screened and then graded as they improve in citizenship on their way to ultimate release. But nationwide, more than 30% of all prisoners return again; of 1,881 prisoners discharged from Fuchu Prison in 1965, 1,012 were back in prison by the end of 1969.

Some penologists say that different nationalities react so differently to incarceration that it is impossible to compare one country's system with another's.

And some countries have problems other than race, such as social or ethnic problems, as are all social forces, in what is often called the pre-prison environment of prison. In many nations there are political problems.

Regardless of the social forces, of national character or of politics, going to prison is, for each convict, a personal experience.

From *Times* correspondents in foreign nations, these accounts tell what it was like and waiting for them when the local justice orders them to prison:

ITALY

An American psychologist confined to Rome's Regina Coeli prison — the name means "Queen of Heaven"—reported:

"I was kept in isolation from Wednesday to Saturday. A bed, a bucket, jug of water, plate, spoon. Then I was put in a cell with an Italian bicycle runner and a Yugoslavian accordion player. Let us say I was not feeling as relaxed as Perry Como.

"But the first thing, the Yugoslav handed me a glass of wine. Then a fried egg, then a cigaret, and finally we played chess.

"I began to realize that Italian jails were not what I had expected. I have never witnessed any form of violence. Everybody is friendly. Everyone helps everybody else. Everything is shared. Prisoners and guards alike are polite. There is a good deal of mutual respect.

"Everything is primitive compared to American standards. All wastes end up in two buckets, which get emptied twice a day. We get a hot shower once a week. I while away the time reading and writing and learning Italian.

"I believe Regina Coeli is better than the prisons many people manage to create for themselves in the outside world."

Italy's more than 12,000 prison inmates are treated with much permissiveness. There are no hard-core prisoners and no maximum-security facilities. Prisoners rarely emerge with resentment toward society.

ISRAEL

"I have no complaints about Ramla," said Moshe, a typical "atsur"—jailbird—in Ramla Maximum Security Prison in Israel. "Except," he added, gesturing around him, "other than the fact I am in it."

Moshe, born in Israel and now in his early 20s, is a persistent if not habitual petty larcenist and thief. He is serving a 21-month term after five convictions, making him one of 5,200 prisoners in the 15 prisons of the Israeli Prison System.

Ramla, like many of the nation's prisons, is a former police post from the old British Mandate era. It is two stories high, enclosed by six-foot walls and barbed-wire aprons, and overlooked by six towers manned by guards with sub-machine guns.

Israel has two types of prisoners: Israeli criminals like Moshe and 528 Arab prisoners, 16% of them guerrillas—like Mohammed, 40, who is serving a two-year sentence for smuggling explosives.

Mohammed works in the Ramla laundry. Is he being treated fairly?

"The Mayor Mohammed. How does he like Ramla? "Conditions are tolerable." Is there violence? On one occasion, yes: Gaza Arabs brawled, not with Israelis, but with Fatah guerrillas from Palestine.

Israel assumed control of six prisons after the 1967 six-day war, one in the Gaza Strip and five others on the West Bank of the Jordan. Even Arabs have lauded the Israeli prison system, which is administered by Prison Commissioner Ayre Nir.

Nir himself served time in a British prison as a member of the Jewish underground prior to Israel's independence. He is acting commissioner because, he laments, "they cannot find anyone else to take this post." He wants to go back to his job with the national police force.

Overcrowding and understaffing (the 1,500 staffers make 10% less than the average Israeli) are Nir's biggest problems. But he treats his guests as "men, rather than criminals," and says he knows each one of them by name.

Those who are trusted, as is Ramla's young Moshe, get special favors. He shares hands with his guards one weekend this month and went home on a 24-hour pass. As he walked out of the double-gated prison yard toward the Tel Aviv road he smiled at the guards, "Sholom," he said.

BRITAIN

On Aug. 13, 1964, the last British criminal to be executed was hanged. An English "lag" waiting for conviction, at the worst, he went to a place like Parkhurst or Albany, the top security prisons on the Isle of Wight, as an "A" class prisoner—one whose escape could be dangerous to the state.

"It would be a lot cheaper to bury us in an allotment somewhere," wrote a class A inmate in a petition smuggled out of the Albany prison, "because the reality is about the same. We are starved but surely not starving vegetables."

"Where I've written that long-term prisoners are targets for discrimination and victimization, I've actually phrased it pretty lightly. Because the staff here, including all the very higher officials, are quite hostile toward us all."

A and B prisoners (class B prisoners are those "for whom escape must be made very difficult") are being dispersed in smaller groups around the eight federal prisons in Great Britain to prevent a high concentration of dangerous prisoners.

Britain began creating tough maximum security facilities in 1964. The A and B prisoners inside are allowed a half-hour visit every two months, can be placed in solitary up to four weeks and are heavily guarded. Men with dogs patrol outside the maximum security units.

For prisoners in the C and D classifications life is better. A man can get a third of his time reduced by good behavior. Guards mingle with the prisoners, unarmed except for billy clubs hidden under their uniforms. "We try not to use or show force," one official said.

JAPAN

If it were not for a tall wall around some of the buildings, the 81-acre Fuchu Prison in a Tokyo suburb could pass for one of Japan's factory-dormitory complexes. In the dormitory rooms the floors are of polished wood, on which nine prisoners spread mattresses at lights out. In the corner of each cell is an enclosed toilet.

Lawns and rose bushes surround the dormitories, and the men in them hurry to work (7 a.m. to 4:35 p.m., with two breaks and a 40-minute lunch) wearing the same factory clothes men wear in Japan's industrial plants.

Prisoners call their guards "Oyaji-

San," an informal version of "father." All guards pass civil service tests. All prisoners start life in Fuchu on the same level: as fourth-grade prisoners.

Privileges are few for the men in the fourth grade, but anyone, even a murderer, can advance up to first grade, entitling him to unlimited visitation privileges, use of recreation rooms in evenings, and weekly movies.

Conditions are spartan. There is no smoking. Food is mostly barley and rice, with fish at suppertime. Meat is never served. There is no heat in the dormitories, even in the subfreezing winter months.

Yet neither the modern penal system nor the harsh conditions keep guests at Fuchu—and Japan's other 18 maximum security prisons—from becoming a "ruihansha," a repeat offender. The death penalty is still in effect, with more than 70 men now awaiting hanging. Despite it, crime continues.

Where do Japan's ruihansha come from?

Nearly 30% are members of Japan's underworld gangs. Others are mentally incapable of finding a place in the nation's booming economy: the average IQ is 81.2 in Japanese prisons, and 22% of the inmates are classified as near-psychopaths. One often-made complaint of Japanese prisoners:

"Prisons are no places to build a man's character."

MEXICO

Although he had tried to escape at least twice, Joel David Kaplan, a New Yorker serving 28 years, still had the run of Santa Marta Acatitla Prison on the outskirts of Mexico City.

He had access to a telephone, and was visited frequently by friends with whom he talked privately, unobserved, and in physical contact with his visitors.

Kaplan was serving time for murder. He wasn't in Mexico's only real maximum security prison: a federal authority on Isla Maria, 70 miles west of Tepe in the Pacific Ocean, where the chief deterrent to escape are sharks in the offshore waters.

The conditions under which he was serving his time facilitated Kaplan's celebrated departure from Acatitla: a helicopter touched down in the prison yard and, without interference, removed Kaplan and a second man.

There have been hints of corruption in Kaplan's departure and, indeed, corruption is common in Mexico's free-wheeling, easy-going prison system. Prisoners with money can finance anything from an easy life to escape.

Quarters range from earth-floored, sunless cells for the poor to comfortable apartments built inside the walls for the rich. The "peni" or "interno" with money can acquire weapons, women, liquor, narcotics. There are no revolts, and no rehabilitation or work programs.

"Why," asked Dr. Alfonso Quiroz Cuscan, one of Latin America's top penologists, "should the inmates revolt when they live better than at home?"

SOUTH AMERICA

If he goes to prison, Argentina's Juan Perez (the Joe Doaks of South America) may find himself in a modern federal prison admired by the world's penologists as a model institution.

But, if he pays his debt to Bolivian justice, another Juan Perez may find himself in a jungle camp in the upper Amazon Basin, as far up the river as a convict can be sent—and with piranhas in the river.

Argentina has guards graduated from the National Penitentiary School, temporary leaves for "exemplary" prisoners, parole terms set by the judges who sentenced the prisoner, examinations by psychiatrists, psychologists and sociologists and sports including soccer, volley ball and swimming.

In Bolivia, by contrast, things are simpler. The jungle camps are lightly guarded; the inmates, the jungle is itself a maximum security restraint. Conjugal visits by convicted sweethearts are allowed. If anyone escapes, authorities can arrest one or more members of the escapee's family and hold them until the culprit is recaptured or surrenders.

The other nations which share the headwaters of the Amazon also use its remoteness as a place to store wrongdoers. The sophistication of penology techniques varies in South America, as can be expected, with the sophistication of the imprisoning nation.

Just across the Rio de la Plata from Argentina's Buenos Aires lies the small but highly advanced nation of Uruguay, with a modern penal system known for humane treatment of prisoners unsurpassed elsewhere in Latin America.

Numerous laws protect the prisoners. When men arrested as Tupamaro terrorists complained of police brutality, the gravest instance a congressional investigating committee discovered was that "lunch wasn't served on time."

It was from Montevideo's Punta Carretas federal prison that 111 Tupamaro leaders tunneled to freedom early this month.

RUSSIA

"In prison," wrote Russian writer and ex-prisoner Anatoly Marchenko, "you won't find a single healthy man, except perhaps for newcomers, and they don't last long . . . It is impossible to convey the essence of it, this torture by starvation . . . For many, hunger proves an insuperable ordeal."

For a lump of sugar or a few more ounces of black bread, Marchenko wrote, men turn informers, betraying their fellow inmates. With hun-

ger, submachine guns, dogs and beatings, the Russian government maintains the world's tightest discipline on what is believed to be the world's largest body of prisoners.

A Soviet official, R. Nishanov, expressed in 1969 the government's views on why compulsion was important in "the struggle for reforming the persons who commit socially dangerous crimes":

"Lenin pointed out that all weakness, all hesitation and all sentimentality in this field would be a great crime against socialism."

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TWIST—Devil's Island, France's dreaded penal colony off the coast of South America, was closed in 1953 and now is a resort.

Times photo

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FRANCE

The prisoner who goes to a French penitentiary will find:

Short terms. The average: three to four years.

No attempt at rehabilitation. No one tries to change him.

No reforms. The last French prison reform: closing Devil's Island in 1953.

No riots. Businesslike guards hold a tight lid on prisons. Police let two escapes kill a nurse and a guard in Clairvaux last week rather than negotiate demands; the men were re-captured.

And, chances are, the average French prisoner won't return. Recidivism is relatively rare in France.

It may have something to do with prison conditions generously described as spartan.

Provincial prisons are often one time monasteries or convents. Plumbing is a pot made available twice a day; prisoners must learn precise control of bodily functions. Exercise yards are pie-slice niches big enough for only a score of prisoners at a time. There is no work to do.

"Prisons," according to the French penology, "are places of incarceration, not rehabilitation."

Political prisoners are separated from others, under maximum security control, and, usually, somewhat better living conditions. Algerians, the largest majority within the penal system, are kept strictly segregated.

GERMANY

A West German sentenced to prison soon learns that running prisons, like so many German endeavors, is a highly regulated science.

The individual states (Länders) have their own prisons, but the penal code is federal. The accent is on reform. The prison population is dropping. Prisons are not crowded. Rehabilitation is required. Everyone works.

Great care is taken to put a prisoner — the knatsbruder or cell brother—in the type of facility best suited to him. There are 21 prisons, few of them with maximum security facilities. Efforts are made to incarcerate a man not where he was arrested but near his home, so he can be close to his family—and the community he will one day rejoin.

Being a prison guard has the status of an official and, in West Germany, the job has a security many persons seek. There is little danger from prisoners; controls are too strict, the inmates too respectful of authority. Among the privileges they can lose for a serious infraction: the right to have an aquarium—and a whittling knife.

CANADA

The widespread differences between the state prison systems of the United States don't exist in the provinces of Canada. The reason: all persons convicted of a sentence of more than two years go to a nationally run institution.

And within this federal framework changes are being studied—changes which may affect the lives of the more than 7,000 inmates in Canada's 32 prisons.

Eight of them are maximum security prisons. The largest contains 500 men, the smallest 7.

"We believe that the 150-inmate prison is the ideal," said Paul A. Faguy, Canada's commissioner of penitentiaries.

Canadian prisoners already live under conditions better than nearly all of the Americans who got into trouble on the south side of the border.

Prisoners can sit with their visitors, touch each other, kiss. There is a guard on duty in the visiting room, but he isn't supposed to monitor conversations.

And so it goes in the prisons of the world. The differences are there, and so are the similarities. Are there lessons to be learned? Could the United States successfully adopt the Canadian system of all federal prisons, for instance?

Foreign wardens are wary of offering advice to U.S. officials. Every warden, they know, is a prisoner, too—prisoner of his own system.

And who knows which system is best?

SWEDES' LIBERAL SYSTEM

Prison 'Like a Hotel Compared to States'

BY JOE ALEX MORRIS JR.

Times Staff Writer

STOCKHOLM — "This place is like a hotel compared to the states," said Fernando Sanchez, a 20-year-old Marine Corps deserter from San Francisco.

He was talking about Oesteraker, Sweden's most modern prison, about 30 miles from Stockholm.

Sanchez, a paunchy, friendly type serving time for larceny, knows whereof he speaks: he was in Soledad, he said.

"You get discrimination here like everywhere against brown skins," he says.

"But we have more freedom. I got my own cell. The guards are friendly. You don't have to kill yourself working just to get 'garet money."

Oesteraker symbolizes Sweden's approach to penology—that prisons are places for rehabilitation, not punishment. Being locked in is punishment enough, the Swedes say.

Thus 16 of the country's

21 institutions (they don't like to call them prisons) are open. Oesteraker is one of five closed, and is maximum security.

Its 21-foot concrete walls which curve in at the top are supposed to be escape proof. But they aren't very closely watched. A prisoner escaped in broad daylight recently using a ladder dropped over by accomplices from outside.

But most prisoners fail to see any reason for such impressive efforts to get out. "Why escape?" asked inmate Anders B. Andersson.

"If I wanted to leave I just have to wait until my next furlough," he said. In fact, 9% of those on furlough last year failed to return on time, if at all.

Furloughs are part of the Swedish way of prison life, as are conjugal visits to prisons where the inmates and their wives (or girlfriends) enjoy privacy for a few hours twice a month.

The point in all this is not to isolate the prisoner as an antisocial misfit but rather to maintain his contacts with life outside, a life to which he must eventually return.

This thinking is increasingly applied as a man reaches the end of his sentence. Added to it is group therapy in which prisoners discuss their problems and fears of the outside, and visit with ex-convicts who have made the transformation.

In Sweden, prisoners also have uncensored mail privileges.

Such are the dramatic developments at Oesteraker. But prison remains prison, no matter how enlightened the management.

Last year prisoners went on hunger strike to win new privileges, including the right to organize.

They were joined in sympathy by other prisons. In the end, they won the right to free elections to send their own representatives to consultative councils in every prison—councils which are half-prisoner, half-officialdom.

"What happened here was unique in prison history," said Bo Martinsson, director general of prisons.

Another result was the "storforum," a monthly meeting where prisoners and staff get together on a voluntary basis to discuss problems and grievances. One took place last week in the modern prison theater.

It was run by an intellectual prisoner with a Pancho Villa mouatache. He sat at a table in the middle, and the others pulled their chairs into a circle about him.

The staff did not bunch together, for instance, but spread out among the prisoners.

The first theme was another innovation: one free afternoon per month (prisoners who can are obliged to work 42 hours per week). The question was what to do with it.

"We should have dances," suggested a prisoner.

"We'll look into it," said the warden.

The idea is not new:

dances have been held in other prisons.

Someone else wanted a bridge tournament.

Then they turned to practical complaints.

One was toilet doors. Prisoners complained about the lack of privacy if they couldn't lock the doors. The warden said this was a possibility.

There was heated questioning by the prisoners about a newly introduced experiment, a behavioral rating system based on points. They didn't like it and it was clear the prison officials were not enthusiastic about the idea, which had been imposed by higher authority.

"The gulf between the guards and the prisoners is disappearing here," said Catholic Chaplain Jan Schmidt.

The size problem in the United States staggers prison officials here, where the largest institution has 430 inmates.

Sweden's approach also extends to severe sentences, called internment here. This category of prisoners gets a specified minimum, not maximum sentence.

If they behave well and show encouraging progress in their social readjustment, they can get out on parole after perhaps serving two-thirds of their minimum sentence.

Recidivists can be kept in longer, though they can appeal to higher authorities.

60% ARE REPEATERS

200,000 Doing Time in American Prisons

Exclusive to The Times from a Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Two hundred thousand American men and women are in prison today.

That's down from 213,000 in 1960.

But 1.5 million persons will spend some time during the year in one of the nation's 400 prisons and 4,000 jails.

Prisons cost the nation \$1.5 billion a year to operate. One leading penologist estimates it would take another \$15 billion merely to replace inadequate facilities.

Crime Rates Rise

The decline in prison population in 11 years is no symbol of increasing regard for the law. Crime rates are up. But faced with the brutalizing conditions of incarceration itself, judges across the nation are less eager to commit persons for relatively minor crimes.

One result?

Men and women behind bars today are those convicted of the more serious crimes: murder, rape, armed robbery.

In years gone by, many prisoners were serving time for relatively minor crimes.

They were a stabilizing influence, prison officials say, on the overall prison population. Now, the hardcore dominates.

Once a man goes behind bars, serves time, comes out, the chances run 60 to 70% that he'll be back. That's the recidivism (repeater) rate. By contrast, it runs about 2% for persons convicted of crimes but put on probation instead of in prison.

Twenty states have work-release programs, whereby convicts leave

the walls and work at civilian jobs. But both states and the federal prison system—with 21,200 inmates—have been reluctant to use it too much. Only 500 federal prisoners are taking part.

The Federal Bureau of Prisons is now in the midst of a "10-year-plan" to improve its operations.

The percentage of prisoners who are members of racial minorities is much larger than the percentage of the minorities in society. The federal system reported 27.6% of its prisoners are black. Blacks account for 12% of the total U.S. population.

A total of 479 prisoners sit on death rows of the 41 states which still have capital punishment.

LEARNING MODULE XII

BEHAVIORAL
STRATEGIES
WITH
MILITARY
PRISONERS

TO ACCOMPANY LEARNING MODULE XII - BEHAVIORAL STRATEGIES WITH MILITARY PRISONERS

Training Case - USMC/ONR Project

Case #1 James Oldfield Offense: Burglary
Sentence Date 6/15/70

Subject is a 21 year old male convicted by plea of guilty of burglary of a post dwelling. Subject was apprehended by military police who were called by a neighbor as he exited from an apartment carrying a radio, television set, and several pieces of jewelry. Subject admits his guilt, stating that he needed funds to support a habit of narcotic (heroin) addiction estimated at \$15 per day. He asserts he has been using heroin for about 9 months.

Five (5) prior offenses have been recorded since age 16 when the subject was arrested for burglary (dismissed). At age 17 he was placed on probation for petit larceny which was terminated when he received a 60 day jail sentence for another petit larceny (shoplifting). During his 18th year he was arrested for loitering (dismissed). At 19 he was sentenced to 3 months county jail for burglary (similar to the instant offense). He enlisted shortly afterward, and his military career has been uneventful up to the present incarceration.

Subject was born in Lewiston, Maine (dob 12/14/49), the only child of Richard and Marion Oldfield. His parents were divorced soon after his birth (1950); his father remarried; his mother did not. Subject was raised by his mother and grandmother in Chicago, Illinois. His attendance at school was irregular and he had a very poor academic and behavioral record, allegedly associating with undesirables. School records indicate his mother appeared interested but overprotective and unable to control her son's behavior. Subject has had no contact with his father since early childhood. He left school at age 15 and was referred to Children's Court for truancy, but the case was closed when he turned 16 years of age. Subject admits to using narcotics (heroin) for nine months and mainlining for 4 months. He states he occasionally used marijuana and glue previously. He denies alcohol usage. Subject did not enter any rehabilitation program prior to incarceration but states he tried to kick the habit several times on his own. Subject indicates he has held numerous jobs of short duration (unverified) as stock clerk and gasoline station attendant.

Institutional records indicate no disciplinary infractions; the subject is assigned to the mess hall as a cook's helper. He has participated in the educational program (High School Equivalency) and has to date received satisfactory marks. For recreation he plays cards or basketball. He is in good physical health -- psychological reports indicate IQ 110 (average). The subject is willing to participate in the group drug counseling program. He corresponds regularly with his mother.

Question's for consideration:

100

Is there enough information in this case to make a proper correctional plan? If not, what new information is needed?

Describe correctional handling from the viewpoint of restraint, reform, rehabilitation and reintegration models. 31

Training Case - USMC/ONR Project

Case #2 John Parsons Offense: Robbery
Sentence Date 6/12/70

Case involves a 20 year old male convicted by plea for robbery concerning the knife-point robbery of a post-laundromat operator. Subject was apprehended by a passing patrol car. The victim was slightly bruised when he attempted to resist the holdup and subject is alleged to have threatened the arresting officer with a 6-inch knife. The inmate states that he was broke and needed funds. He expresses little remorse, but states that if base paroled, he will not get into further trouble. He denies intending to hurt anyone.

One prior offense is indicated. In April, 1969, at age 18, the subject was arrested for assault involving a tavern brawl. Charges were later dismissed when the complainant failed to appear.

John O. Parsons is the second son born to David and Virginia Parsons. He was reared primarily by his mother, his father having deserted the family shortly before his birth. His older brother died of pneumonia at age 4. The subject spent several years of his childhood with a maternal aunt (since deceased) as his mother on several occasions committed herself to state hospitals. He did poorly in school and dropped out at age 16 while in the 9th grade. He has continued to reside with his mother, who works part-time as a housekeeper and receives supplemental welfare assistance. Subject's longest period of employment was 14 months as a carpenter's assistant. He was terminated due to lack of work 3 months prior to the instant offense. No narcotic history is indicated. The inmate admits to drinking to excess frequently since he lost his job; however, there are indications of prior excessive alcohol usage.

Institution reports one minor disciplinary infraction for swearing at a correction officer (reprimand). The subject is assigned to the carpentry shop as a helper. He has a good work report, but is considered moody at times by his work supervisor. He has not participated in the educational program. Psychological testing indicates IQ 105 (average); psychiatrists indicates passive-aggressive personality with possible excessive alcohol usage. Subject corresponds regularly with his mother.

Question's for consideration:

Is there enough information in this case to make a proper correctional plan? If not, what new information is needed?

Describe correctional handling from the viewpoint of restraint, reform, rehabilitation and reintegration models.

Training Case - USMC/ONR Project

Case #3 William Burnette
Sentence Date 7/5/70

Offense: Robbery

Case involves an 18 year old inmate convicted by plea of robbery (mugging). On 3/14/70 at about 9:30 p.m., the subject assaulted and robbed Major Samuel Marr, age 58, at the entrance to his quarters. The victim was beaten about the face and shoulders and required hospital treatment. Subject admits his guilt but appears more concerned with having been caught than remorse at having committed the offense.

Subject has 4 prior arrests plus 2 commitments to juvenile training schools. At age 14, the subject was committed to State Youth House for burglary and truancy; paroled after six months, he was almost immediately arrested for assault on a police officer; recommitted to the State Training School; he was released at age 16. During that year (1968) he was twice arrested for burglary (both dismissed), once for disorderly conduct (15 days County Jail) and once for suspicion of robbery (mugging) which was dismissed.

Subject was born in Jacksonville, Florida on 2/7/53, the second child (o.w.) of George Stahl and Helen Burnette. Subject attended the local schools until age 14 when he was placed at a State Training School. Juvenile probation records describe his parents as persons with alcohol problems and marginal work records. Probation material indicates that he had a poor academic record and was left back twice but was not considered a disciplinary problem. His work record consists of 3 unverified jobs of short duration as a trucker's helper, dishwasher, and laborer. He indicates he has not seen his parents since age 16. No history of drugs or excessive alcohol usage is indicated.

Subject has an institutional history of conformity. No disciplinary reports have been received; he has attended several high school courses receiving passing marks. He attends church occasionally. Assigned as a runner, he has a satisfactory work report. Psychological testing indicates IQ 92 (dull normal). The subject has no correspondence or visits.

Question's for consideration:

Is there enough information in this case to make a proper correctional plan? If not, what new information is needed?

Describe correctional handling from the viewpoint of restraint, reform, rehabilitation and reintegration models.



NAVY WAVE ADDRESSES ADMIRAL ZUMWALT IN SESSION AT PEARL HARBOR

Humanizing the U.S. Military

It was not exactly an intimate rap session, as nearly 600 seamen, submariners and officers jammed a base theater at Pearl Harbor last week. But the pert WAVE spoke up boldly on behalf of two of her service friends with an unusual problem: "She works a day shift while her husband is on the night shift. Can't something be done?" The officer directed her to leave their names, and since that officer was none other than Admiral Elmo ("Bud") Zumwalt, Chief of Naval Operations and the U.S. Navy's uniformed boss, the pair will soon be on more compatible assignments.

Similar scenes could be observed elsewhere in the U.S. armed services:

► At Fort Benning, Ga., it was 0600—reveille hour—but no bugle sounded. So SP/4C Terry Reed dozed blissfully until 7 a.m. Reveille has gone out of style at Fort Benning; all a soldier need do is get to his first duty post on time.

► Wearing dungarees and a flag-striped crash helmet, a sailor reported for his day's duties at the Charleston Naval Station, S.C., by gunning his motorcycle up to the main gate.

► On the aircraft carrier *John F. Kennedy* in the Mediterranean, Captain Ferdinand B. Koch conducted an electronic forum via the ship's closed-circuit TV, answering questions phoned to him from sailors below decks.

Those episodes are all part of a radical drive now under way in the U.S. armed forces to humanize military life. It was launched most effectively by the Navy, whose ships' horns still bark, "Now hear this! Now hear this!" but whose officers more and more seem to be saying to men of all ranks: "We hear you! We hear you!" The movement was given further impetus last week by new directives from the Army and Air Force that seek to make life in the service more bearable and attractive. It aims to meet at least in part the demands of a brighter, more restive generation of young Americans who reject

the artificiality of make-work chores and spit-and-polish regimen, who want to know the why of orders and the wherefore of authority. Each officer has his own definition of the new mood, and not all approve of this change. For one who does, Major General Bernard W. Rogers, commander of the Army's 4th Infantry Division, it is simply to make everyone in his service "give a damn for the soldier."

A Matter of Survival

The reform of military life is not a luxury or even merely an idea whose time has come, mirroring the changes in the rest of U.S. society. It is a necessity. Largely because of the Viet Nam War, the prestige of the military is plummeting. Many servicemen, including cadets and midshipmen from West Point and Annapolis, try to hide their military connections when on leave among their peers. There is even a wig market in Annapolis where middies can acquire hirsute camouflage. Re-enlistment rates have dropped to their lowest levels since 1955. Barely 31% of servicemen of all ranks and branches now volunteer for a second term.

The mounting antimilitarism in the U.S. threatens even the extension of the draft, which Congress must debate next year. Top Pentagon officials expect the vote to be extremely close. Until they have time to effect all the reforms that might make service more appealing, they consider Selective Service the only weapon they have to maintain adequate manpower. Declares Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird: "Manpower is the most serious problem that we have. We are going to concentrate on people. They're going to be No. 1."

President Nixon is fully aware of the problem, and to dramatize his concern, he personally presided last week over the re-enlistment ceremonies for five men of all services who had signed for another term. He re-emphasized his

conviction that the long-term solution to the manpower dilemma is to make military life so appealing that an all-volunteer service becomes feasible. Optimistically, he has set 1973 as the target date for ending the draft, except as a stand-by mechanism to meet new emergencies. There are grave doubts among many military commanders that the draft can be ended that soon. But the possibility makes the revitalization of service life that much more important.

The challenge has been taken up by the three major services in a new kind of rivalry in which each seems to be striving to show that it is the most fun—or at least the most concerned, fair and compassionate.

At the moment, the Navy is ahead. This is largely due to its new (and youngest ever) C.N.O. Bud Zumwalt, 50, has thrown his energy into what he calls "people programs" throughout the service. Insisting that his men rate far higher than hardware, he even made a private deal with the Pentagon to take \$20 million—enough to keep four or five destroyers functioning for a year—out of his budget if the Defense Department would match it and use the combined \$40 million to build new housing units for Navy families. An admiral who would rather give his men new homes than sustain some ships is a novelty in the Navy.

Already tagged throughout the service as "The Big Z," Zumwalt is carrying out his revolution through "Z-grams." These are orders in crisp, unstilted language that show his determination to scuttle those customs and traditions that no longer seem to have a point—if indeed they ever did. There have been 65 such orders so far, received variously and eagerly at sea and ashore as "Zulu-grams" or "Zumie-grams" or just "Zoomies." In a service more encrusted with class protocol than most, they have especially endeared Zumwalt to enlisted men. Zumwalt, declares a chief on the

destroyer U.S.S. *Halsey*, is "the first C.N.O. who has ever rattled this bird cage down to the level where I can feel it."

Typical of Zumwalt's approach but carrying more zing than most was Z-gram No. 57, issued last month. It said bluntly that "Mickey Mouse" and "chicken regs" (for regulations), which he labeled "demeaning or abrasive," must go. It orders Navy commanders to keep abreast of "changing fashions," and Zumwalt explained separately that "neatly trimmed" beards and "neatly tapered" hair up to three inches long must be allowed. The new order threw out the nagging rule that men who live off base or off ship must change from work to dress uniforms for the short trip to and from their quarters; they can now travel in dungarees. Motorcycles must be allowed at all naval stations, and a cyc cannot be harassed about the color of his helmet. Nor should men be forced to hastily paint the rust spots on a ship just because a senior officer—even Zumwalt himself—is making a visit.

Beer in the Barracks

Earlier Z-grams had knocked out restrictions against men wearing civilian clothes on a base when off duty, opened a pilot program to allow first-class petty officers to carry any kind of clothes they wish aboard certain ships and to wear them when on liberty. The rule requiring dress uniforms when a ship arrives in port (when greasy gear and dirty lines must be handled) was eliminated. At least half the crew of a returning ship must be granted 30 days' leave, and even when at sea, at least 5% of a ship's crew must be allowed to remain ashore on leave.

Convinced that many men fail to enlist primarily because their wives are unhappy, Zumwalt ordered all shore-base commanders to set up channels for hearing complaints not only from the men but from their spouses. Zumwalt also said make-work projects must cease, Saturday duty must be minimized and those irksome barracks and personnel inspections, if held at all, should not interfere with weekend liberty. Beer may be dispensed in barracks, and liquor can be kept in those barracks that are divided into rooms. Optimistically, he set 15 minutes as the maximum time any sailor should be ordered to wait in line for anything.

Local commanders are free to apply the Z-grams in their own fashion, and wherever the Navy writ runs, the fresh breezes of innovation and experimentation in listening, in correcting, in treating sailors like adults, are blowing.

The telephone rang at the desk of Captain A.W. ("Hap") Chandler Jr., commander of the Miramar Naval Air Station in San Diego. "Hey, Hap, what are you doing about flight jackets down there?" asked the skipper of another Navy facility. "You letting them wear them around the base?" Replied Chandler: "Sure. I've got to, since I do it my-

self." A former colleague of Zumwalt's in Saigon, Chandler is so enthusiastic about the freer atmosphere under The Big Z that he tries to keep a step ahead. He relaxed the rules on hair and beards before any Z-gram mentioned them, wears his own hair in a long wavy pompadour with modest sideburns. Moreover, he is sending his base barbers to hair-styling school so his airmen can get something better in their \$1 cuts than sheer sidewalls. "We're putting in female shampooists too," says Chandler. "You might think we're going a little gay around here."

Chandler also opened a "Captain's Hotline" through which any sailor can dial C-A-P-T (2-2-7-8) at any hour to record a beef. Chandler answers each one in the base newspaper. The line has averaged 80 calls a week, ranging from complaints about cockroaches in the barracks to poorly cooked hamburgers at mess. When one caller suggested that men be able to check in from leave by telephone, Chandler's answer was one word: "Approved." The line has worked so well that Chandler talked his wife Marjorie into answering calls from women on a line reached by dialing A-H-O-Y.

Chandler, who wears a Spiro Agnew watch, does not think he is unduly coddling his men: "The guys today are a lot more sophisticated than when I came in to the Navy. These old farts, the admirals, just don't see this. The old way of doing things not only perpetuated bureaucracy but also mediocrity. That old saying, 'If it moves, salute it; if it stands still, paint it,' has got to go."

Wooing Wives in the Fleet

As the Z-grams generate waves throughout the Navy, the main impact among the some 40 ships of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean has been to push all commanders into a new concern for the dependents of their sea-going officers and men. When the U.S.S. *Springfield* recently put into Malta, more than 20 petty officers' wives from the ship's home port of Gaeta awaited the ship's arrival, because for the first time their husbands were permitted to spend nights ashore at a transient stop. Some 450 men from the carrier *John F. Kennedy* are flying home for Christmas thanks to the new regulations.

The concern also shows up in the new dialogue that has developed among skippers, the men they command and Navy wives. Aboard the *Springfield*, Fleet Commander Vice Admiral Isaac Kidd holds forth in ombudsman meetings at the same polished table where he and his senior commanders conferred in September with President Nixon. At a recent session, one wife complained that U.S. naval families based in Italy knew too little Italian. Kidd ordered a three-month trial of voluntary lessons. On another complaint, Kidd said he would order Navy doctors and dentists in Naples to visit Gaeta more regularly to treat dependents' ills.

The same kind of chatter, ranging

from the highly practical to the merely cathartic, is occurring regularly at State-side naval bases. At South Carolina's Charleston Naval Station, Captain Edward P. Flynn Jr. guides such meetings sympathetically but briskly. "My group doesn't like the way *Playboy* is displayed at the base exchange," complained Mary Vaughn of the Marine Wives' Club. "You can see as much in a women's magazine," countered Flynn. "I bought three T shirts last month at the Navy Exchange and there were holes in the seams of the shoulders," groused a submariner's wife. "Bring them back and we'll return them to the supplier," said Flynn. Are such niggings a waste of a captain's time? Navy Wife Gwen Lanoux does not think so. "We feel like somebody is listening," she says.

Rear Admiral Herman J. Kossler, commandant of the Sixth Naval Dis-



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Women's Army Corps

WAC RECRUITING POSTER
Reaching those who ask why.

strict headquartered in Charleston, has ordered Seabee units, whose training often consists of building bridges and docks only to knock them down again, to undertake permanent projects. In line with Z-grams, he had them build a shed so that men with motorcycles could park their vehicles, construct a marina, outfit an automobile hobby shop and panel the walls of living quarters.

Now the base enlisted men's club, which used to be an edgy center of booze- and boredom-bred friction, is a joyful and jumping place, with dim lights, rock music and girls. Every Wednesday night is "soul night," on which some 500 sailors, 80% of them black, dance to the music of the Exquisite Diatonics and treat their dates to 40¢ drinks. Bachelor officers don psychedelic sports shirts and casual sweaters to meet local girls at their own club and shake to such groups as the Swingers or the Sounds of Time.

Somewhat envious of all the excite-

ment Zumwalt's Navy has created, the Army is marching double time to catch up. Last week General William Westmoreland, the Army's more restrained and traditional Chief of Staff, moved to make life in the Army a bit more like home. Clarifying earlier directives, he ruled that unnecessary troop formations are detrimental to morale, and "except for special occasions," troops need not assemble for reveille. To make sure that not many such occasions would be found, he ordered that any base commander who calls for such a formation must show up too.

Westmoreland also eliminated nighttime bed checks, except in disciplinary cases, as well as the need to sign in and out overnight. He abolished restrictions on how far from his camp a soldier may travel when off duty and ordered that 3.2 beer may be served routinely at evening mess and that barracks may have beer-vending machines. Any officer or soldier who raises a personnel question should get an answer from an authority on his base within 24 hours. Implicitly recognizing that long-time noncommissioned officers are most resistant to change, Westmoreland told commanders to make sure that their NCOs "stay ahead of changes in the country and society" and act "in keeping with the modern army philosophy."

Removing Burrs at Carson

Nowhere is that philosophy already more evident than at Fort Carson, which services the 25,000 men of the 4th Infantry Division on its vast post west of Colorado Springs. There, Major General Rogers is urging all of his subordinates to help heal "our self-inflicted wounds" and remove "the harassing burrs under the saddles of our soldiers." Today's youth, contends Rogers, "want to participate in decisions; they are curious. They want to know why, and they are not satisfied with answers based on faith or 'because we've always done it that way'—and I respect them for it."

There are no Saturday morning inspections at Carson, no reveille or retreat formations. At the Inscape Coffee House, black light illuminates slogans proclaiming that "Life is a Big Happening," and a peace symbol adorns a

beam. Here officers drop in to rap with the troops. "At coffeehouses off base they scream *about* the Establishment," notes one colonel. "Here they can scream *at* the Establishment." Five enlisted men's clubs serve up beer, whisky and go-go girls. In an experiment, the G.I.s have fashioned their quarters into semi-private cubicles, brightening them with colorful rugs, curtains, posters and pin-ups.

Carson has shifted from what Colonel David R. Hughes, the division's chief of staff, describes as "an authoritarian to a participatory approach—because then a man feels that he has a stake in what he is doing." A 19-man group of enlisted men meets regularly with Rogers and has had 70% of its suggestions accepted by him.

Does Rogers' approach work? It is too early to tell, but there are positive signs. Re-enlistments have increased 45% at Carson, the retention rate of junior officers has doubled, and two-thirds of the noncareer G.I.s rate their own morale as fair to excellent. AWOLs have declined, and incidents requiring investigation by the provost marshal have dropped 25%.

At North Carolina's Fort Bragg, Lieut. General John J. Tolson III commands the XVIII Airborne Corps with a similar desire to "cut out the crap," contending: "The soldier today is smarter than 25 years ago. What worked in the Army then won't work now, and the older guys are going to have to accept that." His men do not train on weekends, and they wear their hair longer than at almost any other Army post. "I've observed since World War II," says Tolson, "that there is no connection between the length of a man's hair and his bravery."

The most innovative idea at Bragg is its enlightened approach to a particularly contemporary problem of the modern army: drug addiction. It has been standard practice in the Army to simply get rid of addicts by booting them out on a dishonorable discharge. That shifted the problem to the larger society. But Tolson decided that the Army was as prepared to help them as anyone else. Any junkie can now walk into special wards at Bragg's medical facility,

announce that "I'm hooked—help me," and no disciplinary action is taken.

The emphasis in the rehabilitation program is on a lot of rapping with psychiatrists and fellow addicts. As in some civilian programs, methadone is used to help heroin addicts through the withdrawal period and satisfy their chemical needs. But the most dramatic technique is the "shoot-up" where the more serious addicts inject themselves or each other with a nausea-producing liquid. The shooting-up takes place in a crash pad of pulsating lights, acid-rock stereo, Day-Glo and even antiwar posters. The patients first smoke joints that taste like marijuana but are not, then inject themselves with needles. After the pleasant rush, they vomit into plastic bags for up to four hours. "It ain't worth it, goddam, it ain't worth it," one para-trooper repeated over and over after one recent injection.

Time Off for Overtime

The Air Force takes a more relaxed attitude toward all of the talk about humanizing military life, claiming, with some justification, that the interdependence of officer-pilots, enlisted crews and mechanics has long promoted an informal closeness. "There's no saluting in the flight line," observes a mechanic at Randolph Air Force Base. Indeed, enlisted personnel have normally lived in two- or three-man rooms since the 1950s, and their technical expertise has earned them better treatment than in other services. Major General Frank M. Madsen Jr., commander of Keesler Air Force Base, discloses that he has three enlisted men who report any ill treatment of airmen directly to him. "Their identity," he says, "is known only to me, themselves and to God."

Nevertheless, Lieut. General Robert J. Dixon, the Air Force Deputy Chief of Staff for Personnel, found it necessary last week to jump on the bandwagon. At a Pentagon press conference he summed up some of the new policies being pushed by his boss, Chief of Staff General John Ryan. They include reducing inspections, granting men time off in exchange for overtime work, giving airmen more time to get their families settled when they change stations.

THE OLD & NEW IN NAVY BEARDS: ABOARD THE U.S.S. "MOHICAN" IN 1888 & ON TODAY'S CARRIER "SARATOGA"





BRAGO'S TOLSON



SIXTH FLEET'S KIDO



CARSON'S ROGERS

Turning all their guns against Mickey Mouse.

Even as they modernize, demilitarize and humanize, the services find some imposing statistics mining the paths toward a truly all-volunteer military. The Army's situation is the most acute, since it bears the burden of the most dangerous duty in combat and the most boring chores when it is not fighting. The Army figures that it can get along with an all-volunteer force of 900,000 men (it now has 1,200,000). This will require about 26,000 enlistees each month. Half of these should be re-enlistments and half new volunteers.

That would require roughly doubling the current re-enlistment and true volunteer rates. The Army now gets about 13,000 volunteers a month, but it estimates that 7,000 of these would not be enlisting if there were no draft to pressure them. Turning those figures about will be difficult.

To do so, all the services are seeking higher pay for their men, even though the pressures on the Defense Department budget already are extreme. But it is also true, as the Army's Colonel Robert Montague notes, that "you just can't go out in the street and buy people." Thus the services are also trying to upgrade their training programs to make more of their vocations interesting to career men and more readily transferable to civilian jobs for those who leave. Partly because it is less costly, the current emphasis is simply on making military life more comfortable.

The Making of a C.N.O.

Does all of this new concern for their men mean that the services are going soft and that the discipline necessary for effectiveness in combat is breaking down? The Navy's Bud Zumwalt does not think so. "The role of tradition in the Navy is to contribute to good order and discipline and pride in the organization," he says. "But I have yet to be shown how neatly trimmed beards and sideburns or neatly shaped Afro haircuts contribute to military delinquency or detract from a ship's ability to carry out its combat function."

Zumwalt found firsthand in Viet Nam that some relaxation of trivia can help, not hinder, a fighting force. He commanded a "brown-water" Navy, assigned

to check Communist infiltration and shipping, and his men frequently worked hatless, bare-chested and bearded. Navy regs banned beer on all vessels, so Zumwalt brought six-packs to the crews himself. He got around the ban by inviting the men to step off the ships, generally onto a barge, to consume the brew. His tour as Commander of U.S. Naval Forces in Viet Nam was a big success, a factor in his elevation over 35 senior admirals to C.N.O.

Although he speaks softly and comes on in a deceptively low key, Zumwalt is a sharp logician whose mind seems to race many knots faster than those of most of his fellow officers. Yet he is "the only senior officer I know who always apologizes when he interrupts anyone, no matter how low their rank," notes one colleague. A combination of compassion and extreme competence has made Zumwalt the Navy's most popular leader since World War II: as long ago as 15 years, friends were predicting that he would wind up in the big C.N.O.'s house in Washington. At a recent annual meeting of the Navy's "tailhookers," pilots who have made at least one carrier landing, no one was sure how the black-shoe, surface Admiral would be received. But they stood on chairs and screamed: "We want The Big Z. Big Z. Big Z."

The Navy almost missed him. As war approached in 1939, Zumwalt was determined to attend West Point and later become a doctor. His father had served as an Army physician in World War I and would do so again in World War II. But an Irish friend of his father's came to their home in Tulare, Calif., raved about the sea, and "told a lot of wonderful stories about life on whaling ships—and that did it." Zumwalt decided on Annapolis, where he starred in debate but finished 275th in conduct in his class of 615. Petty regs did not appeal to him then, either.

At the Battle of Leyte Gulf, young Lieut. Zumwalt won a Bronze Star for his work in the combat information center of the destroyer U.S.S. *Robinson* as she attacked Japanese battleships. He had a narrow escape as officer of the deck on the destroyer U.S.S. *Phelps* when he maneuvered the vessel to avoid

a submarine attack and one torpedo passed just underneath her keel. "He may be a good officer," reported a superior on the *Phelps*. "But it was difficult to tell because he was seasick for the first three months." His most memorable experience in the war came when his task force captured several Japanese ships and he was installed on one of them, the *Ataka*, as skipper of an 18-man U.S. prize crew. His orders were to sail the *Ataka* up the Yangtze and Whangpoo rivers to Shanghai, still occupied by 175,000 Japanese troops.

Fulbright Said No

Zumwalt and his crew scared off two Japanese PT boats, blasted a signal light that was trying to order the *Ataka* to stop, and steamed brazenly into Shanghai. Zumwalt's bluff convinced the Japanese that a "vast horde, of American ships" was following and that they should not bother his captured vessel. When one Japanese army captain later approached the *Ataka*, Zumwalt grabbed the officer's pistol, spun him about and hauled him off the ship by the seat of his pants. The captain's driver surprised Zumwalt with a pistol at pointblank range, but before he could fire, Zumwalt lifted the captain as a shield. A Texas sailor then knocked the driver down from behind.

The high point of Zumwalt's "invasion" of Shanghai came at a dinner he attended in the home of a Russian family. There he met Mouza Coutelasi-du-Roche, whose French father and Russian mother had earlier settled in Manchuria. In a letter Zumwalt later wrote to his father, he described meeting Mouza: "Tall and well-poised, she was smiling a smile of such radiance that the very room seemed suddenly transformed, as though a fairy waving a brilliant wand had just entered the room. For a long moment there was utter silence. Then we sat down to the most memorable meal of my life." Mouza agreed to teach Zumwalt Russian, and the lessons drew them closer. After five weeks, he asked her to marry him. They went through two ceremonies, one by a Presbyterian minister at the American Embassy, one in a Russian church.

Zumwalt never did leave the Navy,

although he toyed with the idea several times. He applied for a Rhodes scholarship in 1947 and got to the finals, but was knocked out, ironically, by a future foe of almost everything military who was on the Rhodes Selection committee: J. William Fulbright. Recalls Zumwalt: "Fulbright simply could not understand why anybody military had anything to learn at Oxford."

Now physically shipshape at 175 lbs. (just five pounds over his weight as a football tackle at Tulare High) and nearly 6 ft., Zumwalt runs—not jogs—for two miles each morning around the Naval Observatory Grounds outside his house. He also brings home briefcases of work, marking papers in a hand so illegible that only a half dozen Pentagon aides, known as "the interpreters," can decipher it. When he began working at breakfast, however, his wife mutinied.

then voluntarily admitted that he had lied. But cadets can wear blazers on weekends, the high, stiff uniform collars are gone and, notes one colonel in a swipe at Zumwalt and Westmoreland, "We removed reveille two years ago, but we didn't call a press conference to announce it."

The superintendent at Annapolis, Admiral James F. Calvert, believes that Zumwalt is "the best thing that's happened to the Navy in a long time," but he does not want his academy to adapt too completely to the world outside its walls. Calvert praises "team spirit, battle cry, camaraderie, heroism, the desperate fight against impossible odds," and deplores the fact that higher education in the U.S. tends to reject "authority, tradition, moral values—anything that smacks of absolutes. Annapolis cannot go along with that." And if

of the chain of command. Grouses one commander at Norfolk: "Since these Z-grams came out, some men in the lower grades seem to feel that they are working directly for the C.N.O.—and to hell with everybody in between."

More serious is the argument that discipline and rigor are essential to the primary business of the military: preparing men to kill and to endure the personal danger of death. Nearly all the legendary armies of history have been harshly trained and regimented. The model is ancient Sparta, whose youths spent 23 years, including their wedding nights, in soldiers' barracks and could be fined merely for showing no appetite at mess. Says the superintendent of West Point, Major General William A. Knowlton: "It has always been our experience that disciplined units suffer fewer casualties than slovenly ones. 'Dirty Dozen' outfits exist only in the movies."

Freedom and Responsibility

Indeed, Military Historian and Columnist S.L.A. Marshall contends that the U.S. Army is taking the same relaxed route as did the French Army of Marshal Pétain that he visited in 1937—and that proved so ineffective in World War II. "Once you deviate from the sanctity of an order, you're in trouble," he warns. "And we are right on the ragged edge of reducing discipline to the point of danger."

But Knowlton is the first to admit that there has always been something unique in the attitudes of Americans in arms. It was noticed, he says, by the Prussian Baron Friedrich von Steuben, a military adviser to Washington's army: "When he was at Valley Forge, Von Steuben observed that you cannot just tell an American soldier what to do, you always have to tell him why."

Whether Zumwalt and his like-minded colleagues in the other services can indeed create a military force that is happy behind the lines and fully effective in combat remains to be seen. Given the current low esteem of the military in much of the nation, they have very little choice but to move in the directions they have chosen. Like so many parts of the American historical experience, this movement, too, is an experiment—risky, unprecedented, but rich with promise. If the U.S. military can significantly reform itself, there is no reason why other less rigid and authoritarian American institutions in Government, education and business cannot succeed as well.

Military men are fond of observing that their institutions only mirror those of the society at large. That is another way of saying that nations tend to get the armies and navies that they want or deserve. Zumwalt's bet is that in the armed forces or out, freedom and responsibility are not incompatible—that men treated less like children in the service of their country will, if called upon, prove the equal of their predecessors as fighting men.



WALTER BENNETT

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ZUMWALT AT HOME WITH WIFE & DAUGHTERS MOUZA & ANN (STANDING)
No more reading at the breakfast table.

She kissed him and announced: "See you in four years, Daddy."* That is when his term expires. Zumwalt no longer reads at breakfast.

Despite Zumwalt's persuasiveness, not all military men agree that making life easier for troops and sailors is a good thing. The Marine Corps is determined to be as tough and rigid as ever, perhaps more so in order to claim greater elitence. "We will continue to take the hard line," says one Marine general. "We think we can get 200,000 volunteers, cut their hair and shave their faces. It will be a challenge, but maybe it's the only one left."

The service academies claim they have gone about as far as they can to liberalize rules, and they see merit in retaining stern discipline. A West Point cadet was dismissed last month because he had claimed to have shined his shoes,

* They have four children. Elmo, 24, who resigned his naval commission when his father became C.N.O. and is now studying law at the University of North Carolina. James, 22, a Navy ensign, Ann, 16, and Mouza, 12.

a midshipman does not believe "in the essential goodness of the country and has no desire to defend it against all its enemies," Calvert wants him to leave.

There are, indeed, dangers in too much leniency, as Zumwalt and his aides are well aware. Many top admirals wonder if the Navy has not already gone too far. As he retired from his post as Commander of the Pacific Fleet this month, Admiral John J. Hyland hinted as much in Zumwalt's presence, asking in his farewell speech "How far can we permit absolute freedom of speech, deportment and dress—and still hang onto the indispensable element of discipline?" He warned against being weakened by "bleeding hearts."

Many commanders of ships and bases feel that Zumwalt is delving into personnel matters that have long been their rightful prerogative. Many Navy chiefs, the indispensable career men who run much of the service, contend that lowly swabs are getting perks that it had taken them years to earn. Besides, there is the issue of authority, the subversive

Reprinted from *FEDERAL PROBATION*, Washington, D. C., March 1961

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Concepts of Treatment in Probation and Parole Supervision

BY CHARLES L. NEWMAN

THE WORD "TREATMENT" is probably one of the most overworked words in the correctional lexicon. Whatever its semantic meaning, treatment and the treatment approach have come to suggest several connotations: that "it" replaces an "old system" of dealing with offenders; that trained people can do "it" better than untrained ones; that "it" is more effective than other systems of dealing with offenders; that "it" considers the person, his needs, strengths and limitations, as they differ from other individuals around him. Increasingly within the correctional field, we have come to accept the idea that the treatment approach to the offender is better than any other method. Hopefully we can eventually demonstrate the greater effectiveness of this method over any other "nontreatment" oriented approach.

These are values to which we must subscribe even though the research to date does not substantially support our position. Part of the difficulty rests with the fact that the treatment approach requires of the field not only an ideological acceptance of the philosophy, but also the preparation and existence of a corps of suitably trained persons with the technical know-how, and the actual implementation of treatment practices. Even when so-called intensive treatment programs have been tried, it has frequently been with the

use of personnel with limited professional training, in an atmosphere which is suspicious or even hostile to new approaches.

Within the correctional field we are probably further ahead in an acceptance of the philosophy involving treatment of the offender than we are with adequate staffing, but this would be hard to support in the face of punitive and coercive restriction which is so much a part of the entire correctional cycle: police, courts, probation, institutions, and parole.

Redirection and reeducation of persons who have demonstrated antisocial and illegal behavior are complex matters requiring both time and skill. Involved is the discovery of strengths within the individual offender which can be mobilized for constructive social behavior. Not infrequently, it will involve modifying the social situation in which he finds himself. But so long as we continue to assume, as we seem to do in so many jurisdictions, that probation, parole, and institutional treatment services can be provided by anyone with the proper political affiliation, one head, a good heart, and a meagre appetite for the luxuries of life, then it will be a long time off before we can truly implement the philosophy and goals of the correctional field.

Most correctional institutions make no claim to the provision of more than a custodial program for their inmates. But continuously, in both probation and parole, we claim to provide community treatment. Query: can we, or do we, under the circumstances?

"Redirection and reeducation of persons who have demonstrated antisocial and illegal behavior are complex matters requiring both time and skill. Involved is the discovery of strengths within the individual offender which can be mobilized for constructive social behavior. Not infrequently, it will involve modifying the social situation in which he finds himself. But so long as we continue to assume, as we seem to do in so many jurisdictions, that probation, parole, and institutional treatment services can be provided by anyone with the proper political affiliation, one head, a good heart, and a meagre appetite for the luxuries of life, then it will be a long time off before we can truly implement the philosophy and goals of the correctional field."

We recognize that the basic purpose of probation and parole is the protection of the community. Any system which runs contrary to that precept cannot be acceptable to society. When an offender has been institutionalized, we are reasonably assured that, for a while at least, he will not be involved in further depredations against the community. But in our wisdom, we have learned to recognize that not all offenders need the physical control which an institution provides. This decision-making process must involve more than sentimentality, sympathy, charity, or a count of prior violations. Rather it demands a meaningful diagnosis and a prognosis that the individual does have sufficient internal strength to return to the community where essentially the same physical, social, and psychological forces are present as were at the time of commission of his criminal act, and to make an adequate adjustment in spite of those factors.

Treatment an Interrelated Three-Stage Process

In order to assist the individual to adjust to the community, the field correctional worker implements a three-stage treatment process: *investigation, diagnosis, and treatment supervision*. Contrary to the popular misconception that a given set of preliminaries is necessary before the treatment stage can be implemented, it should be clearly recognized that interaction (and consequently, treatment) occurs from the very first moment of contact. Obviously, if we are to work successfully with a person, we must be able to understand his inner-working.

In the *investigation* stage, we attempt to find out what is and was within him and outside him that made him the person with whom we are dealing. With skillful questioning, he will find himself looking at aspects of his life, so very necessary if he is to gain insight into the nature of his behavior. From this frame of reference it is not too difficult to see the investigation as a very vital part of the treatment process.

In our culture, we place a great deal of emphasis on putting labels on all sorts of things, including behavior. The words "neurotic," "psychopath," "psychotic," "behavior disorder," and many others are used with such ease that we sometimes think we know what they mean. In the diagnostic process, the goal is not to attach a label to the person. Rather, the *diagnosis* is the codification of all that has been learned about the individual, organized in such a way as to provide a means for the establishment of future treatment goals. It becomes immediately obvious that as we learn more about the individual through future contact, the diagnosis will be modified, and the treatment goals raised or lowered as the case may be.

The *treatment supervision* process, as it will be discussed here, entails the elaboration of knowledge about the individual through the process of communication, so that the individual will gain a more realistic appraisal of his own behavior, thereby enhancing his own ability to function more acceptably in the community. The provision of certain material services may also be involved in the treatment process.

Investigation for Treatment

In the finding-out process, the most important source to help the officer is the offender himself. He frequently is also a most difficult source. The offender may consider it to his interest and advantage to give a misleading picture. Here is the real test of the correctional officer's skill—the art of understanding and dealing with human nature. The extent to which a person reveals himself is in direct proportion to the degree of confidence (rapport) which the worker has succeeded in developing. Other sources of information lie outside the offender himself and require tact in approach and intelligence in selection. A problem which every worker faces is to obtain, within the limits of time, as many illuminating facts as possible without causing discrimination against the offender. The investigation should give a comprehensive picture of the offender's own world,

CONCEPTS OF TREATMENT IN PROBATION AND PAROLE SUPERVISION

his personality, his relationship to others, and his immediate environment as seen in relation to himself. We should know something about his likes and dislikes, his hopes and desires, his values and disappointments, his ambitions and plans (or lack of them), his assets and qualities as well as shortcomings. However, we should not let our own cultural biases and values seduce us into giving "feeling content" to the material which the probationer or parolee may not have. But truly knowing what are his feelings in regard to past and present experiences is central to dealing effectively with him in a treatment relationship.

Listing a series of isolated physical and social facts about a person provides only a bare skeletal diagram of that person. So frequently, for example, presentence, classification, or preparole reports will be limited to a cursory statement about the family composition, designating the names, ages, and occupations of family members. What do these facts mean? Without elaboration or interpretation, such facts are of limited value in arriving at a recommendation or in providing meaningful supervision. What we really need to find out is the type of relationship which has existed between the person and other significant people in his life: natural family, family by marriage, friends, neighbors, coworkers.

We have no hesitation about discouraging continued contact with previous associates. But what about family? Are these relationships always worth maintaining? With knowledge about those interrelationships, it may be most desirable to encourage the person to stay far away from his family as well as previous associates. Even though our culture strongly supports the notion of enduring marriage, we cannot assume, *a priori*, a positive family relationship exists solely because a man and woman are living together in marriage. Nor can we assume that a person has necessarily been damaged emotionally by the fact of growing up in a broken home. These are things we must find out.

Basically, the point is this: in the treatment relationship, the generalizations about human behavior (to which most of us subscribe) have applied value only to the degree that they fit the circumstances and the personality of the individual situation. We must know the individual first in order to understand him and to counsel with him.

An interview is a conversation with a purpose. In his role, the correctional worker is not interested in persons in the aggregate, but in the

specific individual. Our goal, through the interview process, is to be able to know the offender's personality in action. We are interested in his immediate environment, the way he reacts to frustrations and opportunities. We want to know his attitudes toward others and himself. From that point, we can assist him to gain a better self-understanding, thereby affecting his ability to function constructively in the community around him.

Whether the interview occurs during the presentence investigation or during the period of supervision, it is important to recognize that both the worker and the offender bring prior life experiences into the interview situation. If the worker has been able to develop insight and self-awareness about his own behavior, there is a likelihood that he will be more tolerant and effective with the persons with whom he is working. This is particularly necessary in the implementation of authority. The mature worker will recognize that it is the situation and not his own need for power, which calls for the use of authority.

Treatment Begins With the First Contact

While it can be true of every session, the first contact between the worker and the offender is of extreme importance. In all probability the person will be experiencing a certain amount of anxiety which, with skillful handling, can be mobilized from the very beginning to achieve the treatment goals. The person should be given the feeling that there is no need to hurry in exploring the many avenues which may develop in the initial interview. If the worker takes time to listen, the probability is that he will hear more than if he devotes the time to talking himself. At the beginning, the offender is making a number of observations about the officer, the office, and comparing his current impressions with his own preconceptions. At the same time, the worker should be making his own observations, such as the person's appearance, the way he enters the office, the way he conducts himself, how he sits down, how he talks, the tone of his speech, and other nonverbal communicative aspects. Whether we are capable of observing it or not, in many instances a *transference* occurs from the individual to the officer from the very beginning. The mature worker will recognize that fact, and interact accordingly.

The content of the first interview, as with all subsequent contacts, will vary with the individual.

FEDERAL PROBATION

Part of the time is spent in gathering factual information. However, unless there is reason to believe that information already on file is erroneous, generally there is no need to repeat the operation. Being asked the same questions over and over again can easily give the impression that it does not matter too much what you say since no one pays any attention to the answers. Accurate recording (even though it takes time) is of vital necessity if we hope to do a respectable job of treatment. By recording basic information as well as progress contacts, we are in a better position to see the progress which has been made in the case and alter treatment goals accordingly. Without such information, a shift in caseload requires the new worker to start out from the beginning, which we would agree is a great waste of time and effort.

After the initial interview, the officer is faced with the monumental task of making a fast appraisal, on the basis of a single interview, of the person's ability to reside in the community with only limited external controls. One of the better means of appraisal comes from an understanding of the degree of discomfort which the individual feels in relation to his social or emotional problem. Further, the officer will have to determine what part others may have in the problem, and the extent to which they are affected.

The timing of subsequent interviews must, in large measure, be determined by a variety of factors, including the type and immediacy of the problem, the size of caseload, and the need of the person for support and control. Unfortunately, too much of probation and parole supervision is little more than routine monthly reporting. Admittedly, in some cases, this minimal type of control may be quite adequate. But generally speaking where problems of adjustment to the home and community exist, it is questionable whether any value is derived from infrequent contact. In too many probation and parole offices, moreover, a person is seen only after he has demonstrated some emergent problem situation. To insure the protection of the community, as well as to assist the person in adjustment, probation and parole supervision *must* provide preventive as well as remedial treatment services.

Surveillance Versus Counseling

Within the context of the need for sound correctional treatment programs, several elements emerge. First, we must recognize that the com-

munity continues to be concerned about the activities of the probationer and the parolee. Whether or not he is involved in further illegal activity, the law violator has demonstrated his capacity to disregard society's rules and regulations. By virtue of his prior behavior, the community is justifiably concerned.

Secondly, we must recognize that it is neither feasible nor desirable to maintain continuous surveillance of the offender's activities. At best, we can sample his behavior at various moments and *hope* that we are able to detect certain indicators which suggest that the person is *more* of a presumptive risk to himself and to the community. Greater protection than this to the community through surveillance is not possible in a democracy. Moreover, surveillance, as opposed to treatment supervision, is essentially a police responsibility. It involves techniques for which the therapy-oriented and trained practitioner in corrections is unprepared to handle with maximum effectiveness. This does not obviate the need for surveillance, but rather, places its implementation in the hands of the police, whose responsibility it is in the first place.

"Listing a series of isolated physical and social facts about a person provides only a bare skeletal diagram of that person. So frequently, for example, presentence, classification, or preparole reports will be limited to a cursory statement about the family composition, designating the names, ages, and occupations of family members. What do these facts mean? Without elaboration or interpretation, such facts are of limited value in arriving at a recommendation or in providing meaningful supervision. What we really need to find out is the type of relationship which has existed between the person and other significant people in his life: natural family, family by marriage, friends, neighbors, coworkers."

It becomes obvious, then, that the correctional worker (whether in the institution or field services) should be in a position to recognize, understand, and deal effectively with subtle as well as obvious shifts in the behavior and personality of the offender. Not infrequently, these shifts can be indicative of problems which the individual is experiencing and for which he is unable to find a solution. I do not mean to suggest that to find a person in a particularly irritable mood during a field visit is cause for revocation. On the other hand, such irritability, persistently detected, may be a clue which directs our attention to the movement of the person into behavior which ultimately may get him into difficulty.

CONCEPTS OF TREATMENT IN PROBATION AND PAROLE SUPERVISION

Rules and Treatment

Recalling our intention to protect the community through probation and parole services, we impose a number of controls upon the offender and his behavior. Not uncommonly, the person is instructed to abide by a series of rules and regulations which are universally applied to all offenders within the particular jurisdiction. Many times, the specific rule may not have any particular relationship to the offender and his prior conduct. The imposition of rules and conditions can have a therapeutic value. However, to do so, the rules must have a relationship to the prior behavior pattern of the individual upon whom they are imposed. Moreover, the officer must see these rules as a part of his treatment plan rather than external controls imposed by someone other than himself, and which, reluctantly, he must enforce.

Limit-setting involves specifying what behavior the officer, as the community's representative, will or will not accept from the person under supervision. First, however, the limits must be clear in the officer's own mind. Reluctance or vacillation in the enforcement of rules can easily lead to a situation where the officer will be manipulated by the person under supervision. If limits and rules are consistently applied, the spurious argument that one concession calls for another is easily overcome.

The point should be quite clear: if the boundary limitations or prohibitions are specified for an individual because it is known that he will endanger himself or others if he violates, then the officer has a clear course of action. Failure to be consistent adds only to confusion on the part of the person under supervision. If the violation of a rule does not result in the offender doing harm to himself or others, then the rule is not necessary in his case, and should not be invoked.

The Therapeutic Relationship

One of the first major accomplishments of treatment comes about when the offender becomes aware both intellectually and emotionally that the officer represents not only authority with the power to enforce certain restraints and restrictions, but that he is also able to offer material, social, and psychological adjustmental aids.

Hardly a day passes that the correctional worker does not come upon a situation where a statement made has fallen somewhat short of the

truth. Sometimes these statements may be the consequence of faulty recollection, or they may involve outright misrepresentation. The "natural" reaction is to feel irritated. From a treatment focus, however, one would have to ask the question: since the account seems unreasonable, what defenses are being used that prevent a more truthful representation? Then: what purpose do these defenses serve for the individual? Do they contribute to his sense of well-being, or do they provide him with the needed sense of discomfort. The next step in counseling emerges from this knowledge.

"An interview is a conversation with a purpose. In his role, the correctional worker is not interested in persons in the aggregate, but in the specific individual. Our goal, through the interview process, is to be able to know the offender's personality in action. We are interested in his immediate environment, the way he reacts to frustrations and opportunities. We want to know his attitudes toward others and himself. From that point, we can assist him to gain a better self-understanding, thereby affecting his ability to function constructively in the community around him."

I do not mean to suggest that probation and parole officers should attempt to practice psychiatry, or otherwise involve themselves in depth analysis with their caseloads. In correctional work, we should be dealing primarily with conscious level material. Thus we do not get into dreams or use narcotherapy. But there is a wide range of difference between depth therapy and a "go forth and sin no more" approach. Few correctional workers have the skill or training to approach depth therapy with competence, and the moralistic approach does not work too well over the long run.

In the therapeutic, clinical management of the probationer and parolee, crime prevention is incorporated in the treatment process. As was pointed out earlier, probation and parole supervision must go beyond mere surveillance, for recognition of possible future antisocial behavior through an awareness of the individual's deteriorating personal and social relationships are more effective for community protection than periodic barroom visitation.

The officer's awareness of the fact that the person is having a problem in adjustment is seriously handicapped when interviews are held across a counter in a crowded office, and limited to a 2- to 5-minute examination of the previous month's activity report. The "how-are-things going?" probe question is more suited when

FEDERAL PROBATION

sufficient time, interest, and understanding are provided than when the "response of 'okay' or 'so-so' is expected.

The correctional worker will lose one of his most important tools if he defines very carefully and structures very rigidly the interrelationship which he will allow between the offender and himself. If the probationer or parolee is not permitted to express anxiety, hostility, or other feelings toward the officer, employer, wife, or even the next-door neighbor, then the interview is forcing a response pattern which does not give an accurate picture of the person's feelings. Nor does it allow for the implementation of counseling techniques which interpret and assist in the resolution of the problem with the person. This is not to suggest that the probation or parole supervision interview should be devoted solely to ventilation. Rather, the officer must be in a position to recognize that, as a social therapist in an authoritative setting, certain types of interrelationships are desirable and necessary. The interaction must be geared to the dynamics of the offender's personality, and not to the exclusive satisfaction of the worker's own ego.

Beyond this, the officer must go into the field, into the family home, the neighborhood, and the job setting. No offender exists in a vacuum, and it is not improbable that adjustmental problems will be related to external as well as internal, intrapsychic factors. Discretion, of course, is both desirable and necessary because we do not want to jeopardize what acceptance the offender may have been able to reestablish for himself in the community. It is essential, however, that we constantly remember that the offender must do his adjusting in the community and not in the probation office exclusively. Adjustment is a great deal more than showing the necessary and expected deference to the wishes of the correctional officer.

A not-uncommon type found in probation or parole offices is one who appears to be unable to function effectively in the working world. Our middle-class morality suggests that work is desirable, and that "good" people want to work. Hence, failure and unemployment are often considered to be related to lack of motivation, laziness, or a configuration of morally-related values. Frequently, we find that these same individuals express a feeling of paralysis in . . . appears to them to be a hostile world. We can write off these complaints as characteristic of the convict culture,

or we can seek more definitive answers for the individual case. In evaluating the situation, there are a number of questions which the officer can explore. When attempting to find out how long a problem has existed, the officer should also evaluate the degree of discomfort which the person feels about it. Are his feelings appropriate to the situation, and are his actions consonant with his stated feelings? Looking to the employment situation, for example, the officer can ask: Is what has been demanded of this person really compatible with his true potentialities? What has been the relationship between the offender and his employer, and to what extent do these external factors impinge upon the stability of the family relationship? Obviously, this is not the sort of information which can be obtained when the only knowledge about employment is taken from the monthly income report.

"Only as a person is able to gain insight into the nature of his behavior will he be able to make a satisfactory adjustment within himself. If the behavior seems unreasonable, then the counselor must seek to find out what defenses are preventing a more accurate perception of reality. Importantly, though, the officer must know how vital it is to the probationer's or parolee's sense of equilibrium that he maintain a self-defeating defense pattern. Creation of anxiety in the counseling situation is an important factor in precipitating change, but such a technique must be handled with a great deal of dexterity, and with the knowledge that it will not push the person into undesirable behavior, which may have been his pattern of reaction under earlier circumstances."

A person's previous employment record can be a very valuable diagnostic tool if it is evaluated in depth. And from that evaluation, certain treatment goals come to the fore. It is wise to look at the direction of change in position of employment, as well as the frequency. Did the person move from job to job with no appreciable improvement in position or salary? Has he been on the skids? Or, has the direction of change been in terms of upward mobility? Have external factors put demands upon him to move upward socially? If so, why? We can see then that a variety of reasons may account for vocational instability. It is vital that the officer does not try to implant his own moral values on the facts, but rather, that he derives their values from those who are directly affected by them.

In a reported situation, George A. was constantly in and out of work before he got into difficulty with the law. His references were poor, in that they showed him to be quick-tempered, with a "holier than thou" attitude. George had

CONCEPTS OF TREATMENT IN PROBATION AND PAROLE SUPERVISION

married in his second year of college, and with great struggle managed to graduate shortly before his wife bore them a second child. The wife appeared to be a very passive, yet demanding person. Her demands were always in terms of an improved living situation, which in her own eyes, at least, were realistic demands. George's change of jobs in part reflected her demands. But the job changes also reflected his inability to present himself in a desirable prospective so that he might get a much wanted promotion and increment in salary. Writing checks in nonexistent accounts finally led to his downfall.

Placed on probation, George was able to adjust quite readily in the counseling relationship. A job was found, and the position lasted for almost a year. Then, one day, George came in to report that he had just had an argument with the office manager of the firm where he was employed and that he had quit. The officer asked about the circumstances, but George was sullen and uncommunicative, somewhat daring the officer "to do something about it." Referring to his record, the officer then reviewed some of the glowing comments that George had made about the employer: how kind and considerate he had been, etc., etc. Yes, those things were true, but not that blankety-blank office manager. Then for the next 5 minutes George ventilated about the office manager, and covered most of the transgressions of man and nature. Finally, in a very tired voice, he told the officer that his wife was pregnant again, and that she was putting the pressure on him to get a better job. Had the worker responded with authority at the beginning, he would have lost what eventually developed into a situation where effective counseling could be accomplished.

Only as a person is able to gain insight into the nature of his behavior will he be able to make a satisfactory adjustment within himself. If the behavior seems unreasonable, then the counselor must seek to find out what defenses are preventing a more accurate perception of reality. Importantly, though, the officer must know how vital it is to the probationer's or parolee's sense of equilibrium that he maintain a self-defeating defense pattern. Creation of anxiety in the counseling situation is an important factor in precipitating change, but such a technique must be handled with a great deal of dexterity, and with the knowledge that it will not push the person into undesirable behavior, which may have been his pattern of reaction under earlier circumstances.

The correctional officer must be aware continuously of the concept that man's behavior and thinking are the outgrowths of his life's experiences. But man is not the blind product of social and physical forces around him. From the moment of birth, a relationship is established between the outside world and himself, and for which a reciprocal interrelationship evolves. Mother influences child and child affects mother-husband-other child relationships. The whole confluence on the individual is extremely difficult to evaluate, particularly in the face of the large number of interactions we experience during the course of a lifetime.

The Need for Security

Although human needs can be stated in an almost endless variety of ways, survival is a deep-rooted impulse of the organism. In order to survive it is necessary to be safe, and any threat to security causes a person to feel either anger or fear. Anxiety is the response to an internal feeling of threat. Whether that threat is directed from physical survival or from psychological and social concomitants, excessive anxiety interferes with physical and mental well-being. Further, when anxiety exists, a person strives to resolve it or defend himself against it. There are specific psychological mechanisms which he may employ as a defense against anxiety-producing situations, and the consequences may take either adaptive or socially disapproved forms.

The Need To Express New Feeling

A person's feelings are mixed when he experiences a mutual incompatible combination of feelings. When feelings are mixed, anxiety arises, and the greater the anxiety, the more the feelings are mixed, and so on. Conflict is almost inevitable when feelings are mixed. Some of the kinds of behavior whose roots lie in conflict are: inconsistency, procrastination, hostility, unreasonableness, seclusiveness, inability to make up one's mind, rigidity. Chiding the person, or shaming him for these and related behaviors serves only to alienate the relationship, and does not get beyond the symptom of the disturbance. When the correctional therapist understands the motivating forces behind such behavior, he is then able to provide the needed help.

One way is to help the person bring out true feelings in the open for an airing, and to help him grasp the idea that double feelings are universal

FEDERAL PROBATION

and that there is nothing wrong in having them. This is not to suggest that we condone destructive behavior either inner-directed or vented against the external world. But we do accept the person as an individual and help him to cope with the mixed feelings. In the matter of criminality, offenders probably experience every conceivable degree and every possible combination of positive and negative feelings: from joy of not being institutionalized (as on probation or parole) to bitter resignation and resentment at being tricked by fate.

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The correctional worker can sometimes provide a desired treatment effect by listening and feeding back (nondirectively) what has been said with patience and acceptance. At other times, particularly with individuals whose response patterns

reflect a primitive level of development, the officer may find it necessary to *teach* how to behave less disturbingly in confronting life situations. Some instances call for support; other situations call for the creation of anxiety to accomplish given treatment ends.

Conclusion

Treatment is a sophisticated process involving both time and skill. It is not something which starts after a given set of preliminaries, but rather, gets under way, desirably, with the very first contact. Obviously, there is no one method of treatment with all law-violators, or any other group of individuals who manifest unacceptable behavior. There are certain generic similarities to be found among all people, and the offender is no exception to this rule. But each personality is made up of a number of elements which are blended together in proportions and relationships which are unique to the individual. External changes can be accomplished through a change in the social environment of the individual, but without the vital internal changes in personality, we cannot expect more than a repetition of the previous unsuccessful and unsatisfying behavior. The objective, regardless of the approach, is to create in a person a self-acceptance which did not exist before.

When human interaction enters into the practice of a profession the understanding of personality and behavior becomes a necessary qualification for success. The interviewer must be familiar with the nature of human behavior and with the basic principles of its development. He should know that all behavior arises from needs, that emotional needs take priority over reasoning, that important achievements on the part of the individual may not be expected so long as the physical and emotional needs remain unsatisfied, that the individual tends to be what others regard him to be, and that, finally, behavior is a function of the way the individual perceives his environment. In addition, the interviewer should be familiar with the processes by which behavior may be modified—the psychology of learning.

—G. I. GIARDINI in *The Parole Process*

Prisoners: A New Challenge

DANIEL GLASER

American prison riots come in waves. The last crest, in 1952, included two dozen major disturbances. Among them were a dramatic revolt at Jackson, Mich., in America's largest prison, the riot at Menard, Ill., for which Gov. Adlai Stevenson interrupted his presidential campaign, and others in New Jersey, Massachusetts, Ohio and elsewhere. California prisons were relatively stable that year, despite three hours of bedlam involving 50 Soledad inmates.

How big a prison riot year is 1971? Will it be limited to September's killings at Attica, August's shootout at San Quentin, and the earlier upheavals in New York City jails, Idaho and Florida prisons, and California's institutions at Deuel and Soledad?

Answers to the above questions will certainly reflect the fact that prison rebels of the 1970s differ from those of past decades. While inmate leaders of the 1950s sought mainly to publicize their complaints about correctional administrators, many this year address themselves primarily to the so-called "third world" of oppressed peoples everywhere. They dream of joining forces in a global revolt against alleged "imperialist domination."

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Marxists, from Karl on—for over a century—have repeatedly predicted imminent intensification of discontent in capitalist nations and consequent Communist revolutions. They have always been wrong, at least in the countries with firmly established elective governments.

Their predictions err mainly because in these countries, before any issues unify those desiring specific changes into groups large enough to be a revolutionary threat, some leaders of dominant political parties recruit the votes available on any features of radical programs which gain wide appeal. Thus government-supplied unemployment insurance and old-age pensions, which in the United States in the 1920s were only Socialist and Communist party demands, were enacted by the Democratic Party in the 1930s and extended in the 1950s by Republicans.

Communist revolutionary movements have succeeded only in countries like Russia, China and Cuba where the men in power excluded any effective representation of those with opposing interests, and thus unified their opposition.

This lesson from world history is relevant to American prisons, and to our country as a whole, because prisons concentrate those who are most excluded from policy-making: ethnic minorities and youth. More than half the persons arrested in recent years for the FBI's seven "index crimes" (burglary, grand theft, auto theft, robbery, rape, aggravated assault and murder) are less than 19 years old at arrest. Three-eighths are black, and the remainder are disproportionately of Mexican, Puerto Rican or Indian descent.

Narcotic offenses are the most frequent other basis for felony arrests. In drug crimes, more than half of those arrested today are under 20, but only about a fifth are black. These statistics contrast with those of 20 years ago, when most narcotics arrestees were over 25 and a majority were black. This trend reflects growth of drug use among white youth in the 1960s. Increased separation of youth from adults is the pattern of all advanced industrialized countries. Due to technological changes, such as household appli-

ances and preprocessed foods, adolescents are less needed than ever before for chores at home. There are also fewer family farms or shops where they can share their parents' tasks and concerns, and both parents work away from home more often than formerly.

A fundamental law of sociology and anthropology is that social separation of groups produces differences in their customs. That is how variation has developed in the world's languages and beliefs. The separation of youth promotes differentiation of their speech, fashions and moral standards.

This creates a vicious circle: The more their behavior differs from that of adults, the more they must hide it from adults to avoid criticism, and hence the more separate their social life becomes. Exclusion of youth from older age society is not through anyone's intent, but from automatic consequences of historical trends that can only be reversed if clearly recognized and deliberately offset.

Narcotic offenses dramatically illustrate how social separation of the generations creates contrasts in customs and tastes. Surveys repeatedly show that a majority of those 18 to 20 years old have tried marijuana, as have large proportions of those in their early 20s, but this is an experience of less than 5% of the population over 40, which includes most public policy makers.

While we of the older generation eschew marijuana, we long ago abandoned efforts to prohibit use of a clearly more disabling drug—alcohol. This dangerous chemical is consumed fearlessly, and millions suffer from its overuse, yet there is no longer any serious movement to declare it illegal. No wonder so many in their 20s or younger regard those over 30 as hypocrites and are reluctant to trust them!

The drug crimes which highlight age cleavage in our society cut across class and ethnic lines, but four out of five "index crime" arrests are for taking someone else's money or property. Property offenses arrestees are predominantly poor, out of school and out of work, or working at low-paying, unskilled and insecure jobs. They are disproportionately of minority groups, due to generations of poverty and under-education, plus prejudice in hiring even those who are educated.

This is nothing new in our history: It was also true in the 1920s, when the children of the poor and under-educated minority groups who were arrested for property crimes were predominantly the offspring of Polish and Italian peasant immigrants. What is new in today's criminal population is the ethnic and educational

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diversity of the youth who are unified by being excluded from "respectable" circles and declared outlaws. This gives them common interests and a shared outlook on political issues that have polarized our society.

The concept "political crime," as giving a special status to certain prisoners, is alien to American legal philosophy. It is well established on the European continent, where criminal codes long specified that those imprisoned for a political offense are to be less harshly treated than those incarcerated for ordinary crimes. Thus, when Hitler was sentenced to Landsberg Prison after his abortive *putsch* in 1923, he was given a comfortable apartment rather than a typical cell, and it was here that he was able to write "Mein Kampf."

American prisoners are sentenced for violations of criminal codes which make no references to political motivation, and all are sent to the same jails and prisons. Traditionally, most offenders approach laws against the kinds of acts—such as burglary, theft, or robbery—for which they are convicted, although many claim they are innocent or were victims of extenuating circumstances.

This viewpoint has changed, however, as Americans increasingly are incarcerated not for victimizing others, but for acts which they consider morally justifiable. These acts include use of narcotics and resistance to government policies they regard as illegal.

Large-scale overt resistance to government policies began in the 1950s, with massive demonstrations in behalf of minority groups. Where legitimate political procedures were blocked, as in Southern suppression of voting rights, civil disobedience of the law was espoused.

The targets of youthful rebels shifted in the 1960s from Southern politics to the Indochina war. Many identified with guerrilla leaders abroad, and they found mass-media resources creating theaters out of courtrooms and by growth of the so-called "underground" press. Youth of all backgrounds thereby became increasingly united in support of flouting the law.

Most "hard core" inmates today were seriously delinquent as children. This gained them much attention from their youthful peers, which was especially attractive to those handicapped by ethnicity and poverty.

Those who are repeatedly incarcerated starting at an early age, have little successful experience at professional crime or at legitimate employment, but dream of quick paths to success. That is why so many strive in prison to become professional athletes or popular musicians, two fields in which a few persons of their background have had highly publicized careers.

Indeed, every period of our history has seen the ethnic groups predominant in prisons also prominent in boxing and popular music. The recent rise of militant group leaders with prison records, such as Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver, gave new career dreams to some young inmates, but there were additional reasons for their attraction to militant movements.

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Almost everyone who is degraded by others strives to interpret his experience so as to view himself favorably. It is normal to excuse oneself by blaming others or by complaining about conditions.

Minority group membership in our society creates justifiable grounds for complaint, but these are grasped with special eagerness by those most in need of excuses for their circumstances. This fact, of course, gives a minority movement distinctive appeal to prisoners; it reduces their isolation and sense of degradation.

Indeed, some militant organizations actively recruit prisoners and provide a ready welcome for them on release. Furthermore, tactics which violate the law are less repugnant to convicts than to working people with a stake in conformity.

The revolutionary ethnic movements permit a prisoner to see himself as a patriot instead of a pariah, and the division of the prison com-

munity into predominantly white Anglo staff and minority group inmates provides a stage for playing heroic leadership roles. When parole is denied and solitary confinement is imposed because of such leadership, the idea that he is being punished as a political prisoner rather than as an ordinary criminal may often have some justification in fact; in any case, it has an understandable appeal to the prisoner. For this reason, a diminution of the organized guerrilla-type riots is not likely until the conditions which foster them diminish.

It should be remembered that even the largest prison riots recruit only a minority of prisoners. This minority will shrink when it is less unified, not just with other inmates, but with supporters among youth and minority group members outside of prison. This will only occur when the appeal of legitimate alternatives to rioting, in prison and out, can compete successfully with the appeal of rebelliousness.

The easiest way to intensify inmate militancy is to coop all known or alleged militants in one structure, to maintain a large social distance between them and staff, and to deny them expectations of legitimately earning meaningful enhancement of their conditions and earlier freedom. This is what happened at Attica, at San Quentin's "Adjustment Center," at Jackson's Cell Block 15, and at numerous other foolishly large and isolated penal tinder boxes.

Research has repeatedly demonstrated that social separation of staff and inmates increases prisoner acceptance of anti-staff values. Federal prisons have dispersed youthful "troublemakers" in diverse programs of work and education, the activities in which personal relations between staff and inmates are closest, and have provided immediate and meaningful rewards for inmate achievements.

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They have pioneered in transferring inmates to small community correctional centers a few months before parole to permit employment or education outside of prison, and thus to conquer postprison problems gradually. California and several other states have duplicated this pattern and introduced several other useful innovations in the past year. However, they are heavily burdened by maximum security monstrosities in rural locations, which provide most of their prison housing.

Most state prisoners today are young adults from urban minority groups, confined in rural locations, under nonminority staff recruited from the surrounding countryside. The prison is the major industry of the area and citizens there concentrate their political power in state legislatures to maximize autonomy of local staff.

This has been the burden of Russell G. Oswald in his brief career as commissioner of corrections for New York, where prison programs are more impeded than enhanced by the overly rigid civil service tenure of guards. It contrasts most markedly with the District of Columbia, where the racial composition of correctional staff not only approximates that of the prisoners, but even includes some clearly rehabilitated ex-convicts. California comes closer to this D.C. pattern than most states, but still is far from it.

Prisons are also affected by the outside society. If youth and minority groups participate in government, they are not readily recruited by advocates of violent revolution. Extending the franchise to the 18-to-21-year-old population, and redistricting to promote rather than impede minority group representation, should indirectly promote prison progress. Indeed, providing absentee ballots to nonfelon jail inmates and making restoration of voting rights automatic with discharge from a felony sentence might politicize prisoners legitimately.

Polarizing powerholders against the powerless, in prison and out, has brought us to acute conflict, which will only intensify if continued. Complete resolution of penal and societal problems cannot be immediate, but progress will replace retrogression only as we maximize the legitimate opportunities of rejected and alienated people for gratifying participation in our society.

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Prisons: The Way to Reform

ATICA is certainly not the worst of the 4,770 American prisons and jails. It has too much competition. But it is, nonetheless, fairly typical of a penal system that almost everyone agrees is a disgrace. Almost everyone, that is, but Vice President Spiro Agnew, who, in a spasm of Podsnappery, argued on the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times* last week that "our penal system remains among the most humane and advanced in the world." By and large, the penologists—not to mention the prisoners and ex-convicts—would go along with Senator Edmund Muskie, who told the Governors Conference in Puerto Rico that the prisons are "monstrous, inhuman dungeons, schools for crime and centers for sexual abuse."

The range of quality in American prisons is wide. At Louisiana's scabrous New Orleans Parish Prison, six men at a time are crammed into a 7½-ft. by 14-ft. cell. Most are unsentenced prisoners awaiting trial. They exercise one hour every week and spend much of the rest of their time fighting off roaches, rats and homosexual rapists. "A good day," says one prisoner, "is when I get up, have three squares and don't get wounded or raped."

At the opposite extreme is the Middlesex County House of Correction in Massachusetts. Since he took over two years ago, County Sheriff John Buckley has turned the chapel into a gym, encouraged a black studies program (5% of the 300 inmates are black, as are 5% of the guards), moved his office into the prison and learned almost all his prisoners' first names. He hired two lawyers to give the inmates legal advice and turned the sheriff's house over for inmate use, including overnight visits with families.

Between the two poles is a vast, hidden world, a nonsystem of isolated societies with more or less of the totalitarian qualities evident aboard the *Neversink* in Melville's *White Jacket*. With some encouraging exceptions, the principal distinction of the prisons is failure. More than \$1 billion a year is spent to produce results that would swiftly doom any other enterprise.

Eighteenth century Quakers introduced the American concept of prisons as a humane alternative to mutilation and other corporal punishments. Today the presumed goals of prisons are various, and sometimes they conflict. The aims are to wreak society's vengeance on a criminal, to deter other men from violating the law, to rehabilitate a prisoner so that he is fit to return to the open world. Yet far too many institutions make no effort to rehabilitate; they are simply zoos for human animals that society wants out of the way. As a result, criminals are thrown into precisely the environment guaranteed to ensure they will emerge bru-

talized, more criminally expert and less fit to live lawfully than when they entered. A bleak spirit of damnation hides criminals behind walls, cancels their identities, meanwhile anticipating some moral regeneration and repentance.

Some experts simply despair of ever resolving the dilemma. Says Dr. E. Kim Nelson, director of the School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California, "The idea of correcting anyone in prison is bankrupt. You can't mix punishment and rehabilitation. Prisons should be used for punishment." Enough liberal, enlightened solutions have failed in many fields to make this a rather tempting thought. Besides, the arithmetic of the situation is depressing. Fully 95% of all inmates in the nation's jails will eventually be released. If past patterns are followed, 40% of these will be repeaters, returning to prison for other crimes.

But it can also be argued that rehabilitation has not failed, rather it has not been adequately tried. This view is supported by many isolated successes. The rate of recidivism is down in many areas. Surprisingly, the absolute number of Americans in prison has been declining in the past ten years, principally because of broadened parole and probation programs. Yet the social damage still wrought by prisons that merely train professional criminals remains an overwhelming argument for reform.

Professionals—criminologists, sociologists, penologists and many judges and police chiefs—are nearly unanimous about what the approach should be:

REFORM THE NATION'S CRIMINAL LAWS. Studies indicate there are 6,000,000 non-traffic arrests of adults annually in the U.S. Almost half of those arrests are for drunkenness, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, gambling and minor morals charges. If the laws under which these arrests are made were eliminated, conclude Authors Norval Morris and Gordon Hawkins in *The Honest Politician's Guide to Crime Control*, "the consequent reduction of pressure on police, courts and correctional services would have a massive impact on the criminal justice system." It would free police to concentrate on serious crimes, unclog the courts and ease the overcrowded conditions in the nation's prisons.

REPLACE LOCAL AND COUNTY JAILS WITH REGIONAL CORRECTION CENTERS. Once arrested and charged, a defendant is either released on bond or his own recognizance, or he is sent to jail to await trial. A defendant normally faces a lengthy wait, especially traumatic for a first offender, spending months or even years in jail with seasoned criminals, perhaps being corrupted even before he is judged innocent or guilty. Authorities should, instead of locking up prisoners indiscriminately in jails, provide modern correction centers, with diagnostic services, staffed by

psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers, with gradations in security.

ABOLISH FIXED SENTENCES. "It takes a superior correctional counselor to inspire in an inmate a desire for self-improvement when he faces several hundred years of confinement," observes Fred Wilkinson, Missouri's Chief of Corrections, with some hyperbole. Indeterminate sentences have been used in California for years. Sometimes, as in the case of George Jackson, they have had the effect of absurdly prolonging prison terms because parole examiners did not like a convict's attitude. But the system would work, it has been argued, if inmates were regularly reviewed by a panel of psychologists as well as parole officers. Some reformers would like the original sentences fixed by correction officers and psychologists instead of judges. If fixed, sentences should be shorter—on the average, those in America are longer than comparable prison terms in a western European democracy.

DESTROY EVERY AMERICAN BASTILLE BUILT BEFORE 1900. These gray, gloomy, antiquated maximum-security fortresses—Ohio State Penitentiary, for instance, opened in 1834—remain the principal repositories of the nation's convicted criminals. Embezzlers live cell by cell with rapists, first offenders with incorrigibles. Although the cost would be enormous, the great pens should be replaced by a wide variety of institutions: some for minimum-security risks, some for medium security, others for the 10% to 20% of prisoners who are regarded as dangerous or violent. No institution should house more than 500 inmates.

DEVELOP ALTERNATIVES TO PRISONS. Prisons should, after all, be reserved only for truly dangerous criminals. The majority might be better off if they never spent a night inside a cell. It is a moot question whether society would be safe; but it is difficult to imagine that it would be less safe than it is now, since most inmates are still more hardened when released. There are numerous alternatives: halfway houses, in which small groups of inmates sleep but leave for work each day; work-release programs, in which those convicted live in prison but work outside; or as a more limited alternative, furloughs that allow inmates to spend weekends or evenings with their families.

Every one of these reforms has been tried somewhere in the U.S.—and some cases have achieved notable success. Penologists insist that humanizing the prisons is not incompatible with maintaining strict discipline. But they also admit that there is no guarantee that the changes would drastically lower the crime rate or cut down recidivism. There is also the problem that these programs would consume billions of dollars. Merely to destroy the nation's obsolete prisons and to build new facilities would cost from \$10 billion to \$12 billion.

In addition, there would be the cost of providing thousands of trained psychologists, parole and probation officers,

all of whom would be necessary for an effective rehabilitation effort. According to one study, only 15% of corrections employees are engaged in community programs; 80% have custodial duties. Too often, the guards display the same mentality as the prisoners, regarding inmates as enemies to be tensely watched. The present shortage of psychiatrists and psychologists is appalling—one to every 4,000 prison convicts in the U.S. compared to one for every 100 in some Danish prisons.

In addition to a reform of prison practices, penologists and lawyers are seeking possible changes inspired by a largely unexplored question: What legal rights should prisoners have? Constitutionally, the question is murky. For the most part, the law does not regard convicts as human beings with the same rights as other citizens—only with privileges dispensed at the pleasure of wardens.

In 39 states, a felon permanently loses the right to vote; in 27 states, the right to hold public office, in twelve states, the right to serve on a jury. A felony conviction is grounds for divorce in 36 states. For all the elaborate constitutional safeguards provided the accused, once the jailhouse door slams behind the convicted, prison officials are their only protection.

In almost all states, inmates have few legal rights to freedom of speech and assembly. One of the 28 concessions that Commissioner Russell G. Oswald offered to the Attica rebels was that convicts would be covered by minimum-wage laws for their work. Yet courts have consistently ruled that prisoners have no right at all to wages. Nor are they entitled to compensation for injuries on the job. "Prisons have been such a garbage can of society," says Buffalo Law Professor Herman Schwartz, "that they have been a garbage can of law as well."

Most black prisoners would welcome prison reforms. But for those growing numbers who are becoming intransigently ideological, reforms may seem irrelevant, even a dangerous distraction from their goal of eliminating the "racist system." After George Jackson's death at San Quentin and after Attica, penologists wonder whether any reforms within the current prison framework would mollify such prisoners. "Their anger is not directed toward the prisons but toward society," says Peter Preiser, New York State's Director of Probation. "The problem of the militant inmates festers beneath everything we are trying to do."

Attitudes toward Attica are still so divided that it is uncertain whether this tragedy will help or hinder the cause of prison reform. James V. Bennett, the former director of the federal Bureau of Prisons, is one who thinks the uprising will "harden attitudes" against change. "That's the backlash," he says. "The public is going to believe that the uprising in and of itself was a manifestation of revolutionary protest." Others

say that Attica will inspire nothing more than an increase in the quantity (but not the quality) of prison guards.

On the other hand, wardens and other prison authorities are warning that pure and simple repression without improvements will simply lead to other, and more desperate uprisings. These cautionary words should find some receptive ears in Washington. Richard Nixon has devoted more money and attention to the problem than any previous President. The Bureau of Prisons' budget has increased from \$69 million in 1969 to \$194 million for 1972; the corrections slice of the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's budget has grown from \$2 million in 1969 to \$178 million this year. More than that, both the President and Attorney General John Mitchell have spoken out several times about the need for humane prison re-



THREE-MAN CELL IN FLORIDA PRISON
A nonsystem of isolated societies.

forms, and next December the White House will sponsor a major national conference on corrections.

Reforms, of course, will not solve the large social problems of racial prejudice, inadequate housing, poor schools and lack of jobs, which breed so much of the nation's violent crime. With its cultural gaps between white and black, poor and middle class and affluent, the U.S. has very special problems that do not afflict other countries—Sweden or Denmark, for instance—where prison life seems more civilized. The problems are further complicated by a widespread and partly plausible belief that all of the nation's crime and prison troubles result from some fundamental loss of discipline or morality in the society.

But reforms might at least prevent more prisons from becoming ugly brutalizing battlegrounds where the tensions of society, racial and political, redouble in the claustrophobic air.

Professional Development Institute for Correctional Personnel

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SWEDES' LIBERAL SYSTEM

Prison 'Like a Hotel Compared to States'

BY JOE ALEX MORRIS JR.

Times Staff Writer

STOCKHOLM — "This place is like a hotel compared to the states," said Fernando Sanchez, a 20-year-old Marine Corps deserter from San Francisco.

He was talking about Oesteraker, Sweden's most modern prison, about 30 miles from Stockholm.

Sanchez, a paunchy, friendly type serving time for larceny, knows whereof he speaks: he was in Soledad, he said.

"You get discrimination here like everywhere against brown skins," he says.

"But we have more freedom. I got my own cell. The guards are friendly. You don't have to kill yourself working just to get cigaret money."

Oesteraker symbolizes Sweden's approach to penology—that prisons are places for rehabilitation, not punishment. Being locked in is punishment enough, the Swedes say.

Thus 16 of the country's

21 institutions (they don't like to call them prisons) are open. Oesteraker is one of five closed, and is maximum security.

Its 21-foot concrete walls which curve in at the top are supposed to be escape proof. But they aren't very closely watched. A prisoner escaped in broad daylight recently using a ladder dropped over by accomplices from outside.

But most prisoners fail to see any reason for such impressive effort to get out. "Why escape?" asked inmate Anders B. Andersson.

"If I wanted to leave I just have to wait until my next furlough," he said. In fact, 9% of those on furlough last year failed to return on time, if at all.

Furloughs are part of the Swedish way of prison life, as are conjugal visits to prisons where the inmates and their wives (or girlfriends) enjoy privacy for a few hours twice a month.

The point in all this is not to isolate the prisoner as an antisocial misfit but rather to maintain his contacts with life outside, a life to which he must eventually return.

This thinking is increasingly applied as a man reaches the end of his sentence. Added to it is group therapy in which prisoners discuss their problems and fears of the outside, and visit with ex-convicts who have made the transformation.

In Sweden, prisoners also have uncensored mail privileges.

Such are the dramatic developments at Oesteraker. But prison remains prison, no matter how enlightened the management.

Last year prisoners went on hunger strike to win new privileges, including the right to organize.

They were joined in sympathy by other prisoners; in the end, they won the right to free elections to send their own representatives to consultative councils in every prison—councils which are half-prisoner, half-officialdom.

"What happened here was unique in prison history," said Bo Martinsson, director general of prisons.

Another result was the "storforum," a monthly meeting where prisoners and staff get together on a voluntary basis to discuss problems and grievances. One took place last week in the modern prison theater.

It was run by an intellectual prisoner with a Pancho Villa mouche. He sat at a table in the middle, and the others pulled their chairs into a circle about him.

The staff did not bunch together, for instance, but spread out among the prisoners.

The first theme was another innovation: one free afternoon per month (prisoners who can are obliged to work 42 hours per week). The question was what to do with it.

"We should have dances," suggested a prisoner.

"We'll look into it," said the warden.

The idea is not new:

dances have been held in other prisons.

"Someone else wanted a bridge tournament.

Then they turned to practical complaints.

One was toilet doors. Prisoners complained about the lack of privacy if they couldn't lock the doors. The warden said this was a possibility.

There was heated questioning by the prisoners about a newly introduced experiment, a behavioral rating system based on points. They didn't like it and it was clear the prison officials were not enthusiastic about the idea, which had been imposed by higher authority.

"The gulf between the guards and the prisoners is disappearing here," said Catholic Chaplain Jan Schmidt.

The size problem in the United States staggers prison officials here, where the largest institution has 430 inmates.

Sweden's approach also extends to severe sentences, called internment here. This category of prisoners gets a specified minimum, not maximum sentence.

If they behave well and show encouraging progress in their social readjustment, they can get out on parole after perhaps serving two-thirds of their minimum sentence.

Recidivists can be kept in longer, though they can appeal to higher authorities.

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60% ARE REPEATERS

200,000 Doing Time in American Prisons

Exclusive to The Times from a Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — Two hundred thousand American men and women are in prison today.

That's down from 213,000 in 1960.

But 1.5 million persons will spend some time during the year in one of the nation's 400 prisons and 4,000 jails.

Prisons cost the nation \$1.5 billion a year to operate. One leading penologist estimates it would take another \$15 billion merely to replace inadequate facilities.

Crime Rates Rise

The decline in prison population in 11 years is no symbol of increasing regard for the law. Crime rates are up. But faced with the brutalizing conditions of incarceration itself, judges across the nation are less eager to commit persons for relatively minor crimes.

One result?

Men and women behind bars today are those convicted of the more serious crimes: murder, rape, armed robbery.

In years gone by, many prisoners were serving time for relatively minor crimes.

They were a stabilizing influence, prison officials feel, on the overall prison population. Now, the hardcore dominates.

Once a man goes behind bars, serves time, comes out, the chances run 60 to 70% that he'll be back. That's the recidivism (repeater) rate. By contrast, it runs about 2% for persons convicted of crimes but put on probation instead of in prison.

Twenty states have work-release programs, whereby convicts leave

the walls and work at civilian jobs. But both states and the federal prison system—with 21,200 inmates—have been reluctant to use it too much. Only 500 federal prisoners are taking part.

The Federal Bureau of Prisons is now in the midst of a "10-year-plan" to improve its operations.

The percentage of prisoners who are members of racial minorities is much larger than the percentage of the minorities in society. The federal system reported 27.6% of its prisoners are black. Blacks account for 12% of the total U.S. population.

A total of 473 prisoners sit on death rows of the 41 states which still have capital punishment.

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A TIMES SPECIAL REPORT

How Other Nations Handle Prisoners

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Every nation of the world has its prisons—and its prisoners.

Steel doors slam shut alike on Briton and Japanese, or on a U.S. citizen who has tasted foreign justice in a foreign land.

In the aftermath to violence behind the high walls of Attica and San Quentin, the prison systems of New York and California have come under close scrutiny.

But what about the other nations of the world? What kind of life do prisoners find behind the walls and wire of foreign prisons? Are there riots? Is there brutality? Rehabilitation? Recidivism?

In a study of the world's penal systems, *The Times*' correspondents in foreign nations report the differences — and similarities — of the realms that exist behind bars:

—All prisons use solitary confinement as a tool of discipline. The other tools vary. Most systems reward good behavior with improved conditions. In Russia prisoners' infractions are punished by taking away their food; in Mexico by taking away their conjugal visits.

Guards Highly Trained

—In Japan, Germany and Argentina guards are highly trained specialists. All personnel at Argentina's federal prisons must be graduates of the National Penitentiary School. The German guard's apprenticeship lasts 18 months. In Japan 40% of the guards are college graduates.

—In other nations almost anyone can become a guard. The British have no special system for picking guards. In Russia guards are army conscripts who keep their jobs a secret from their families. Israeli guards are ill paid and even the head of the prison system wants to quit.

—The most dangerous prisoners are centralized in Canada, dispersed in Great Britain, sent to jungle prisons in Colombia, Peru, Venezuela and Bolivia, and to ancient, dungeon-like strongholds in the rural provinces of France.

—And unlike Attica, where officials negotiated with those who held hostages, none of the countries surveyed has a policy of negotiating under duress.

All prison systems face two problems: maintaining discipline and ending recidivism.

discipline breaks down,

Times staff members who contributed to this report on prisons are: James Bassett, Ottawa; David F. Belnap, Buenos Aires; Tom Cook, Paris; Sam Jameson, Tokyo; Francis B. Kent, Mexico City; Tom Lambert, Jerusalem; Joe Alex Morris Jr., Bonn; Richard Rosten, London; Harry Trimborn, Moscow, and William Tushy, Rome. It was written by Dial Torgerson.

riots occur. Authorities everywhere must decide: how harsh must discipline be to maintain control?

Recidivism is the return of a released prisoner to crime and, thereafter, to prison. In each country penologists must seek the answer to one of the world's most difficult questions: what sort of program rehabilitates the inmate?

Riots are not only a U.S. problem. Men without freedom exist in every land, and, in even the world's most civilized nations, those men from time to time rebel against the guards on the walls surrounding them.

Major Riots Outlined

Among major postwar prison riots were these:

—In August, 1948, 1,000 prisoners rioted in an Osaka, Japan, prison, 116 escaped and 54 others were shot — one fatally — by guards. (There were four other major riots in postwar Japan, the last in 1949.)

—A sudden outbreak of riots wracked prisons in Turin, Milan and Genoa, Italy, in 1969, with hostages seized and property damage high. "After awhile," said an Italian official, "the prisoners got tired and quit."

—Sixty prisoners escaped when Arab inmates, led by convicted Egyptian spy Ahmed Otman, used makeshift torches to storm out of Israel's Shata Prison in 1958. Eleven prisoners and two guards were killed. Otman, recaptured, served out his Israeli sentence, returned to Egypt — and was imprisoned as an Israeli spy.

Please Turn to Page 16, Col. 1

Continued from First Page

—One inmate was killed, 27 were injured by guards and \$2.5 million in fire damage incurred in a 1962 riot in a Canadian prison in Quebec; two inmates were killed (by fellow prisoners) in a riot last April in a prison at Kingston, Ontario, in which 48 hostages were seized but later released.

—Using only clubs, British guards stormed and recaptured a wing of Parkhurst Prison on the Isle of Wight taken by 100 rebellious prisoners in a 1939 riot. Seven ringleaders had from 18 months to six years added to their sentences.

—Three hundred political prisoners who were members of the Secret Army Organization during the Algerian war staged France's only postwar prison riot in February, 1962. The tough French prison system crushed it in an hour.

Russia, with perhaps the world's largest prison population, hasn't made news of any revolts public. Prisoners involved probably wouldn't survive to tell. Under Soviet law inmates involved in an uprising such as that at Attica would suffer death penalty.

What curbs recidivism?

"We really don't know," Raymond K. Procunier, director of the California Department of Corrections, once said. "It could be something as simple as the love of a good woman."

The foreign experience is equally perplexing.

In France prisons are places of incarceration, not rehabilitation. Yet recidivism is rare. There are few repeat criminals.

In Japan penology is a well-established science. Every prisoner has a job, and inmates are carefully screened and then graded as they improve in citizenship on their way to ultimate release. But nationwide, more than 30% of all prisoners return again; of 1,091 prisoners discharged from Fuchu Prison in 1963, 1,012 were back in prison by the end of 1969.

Some penologists say that different nationalities react so differently to incarceration that it is impossible to compare one country's system with another's.

And some countries have problems others miss. Some have racial or ethnic problems magnified, as are all social forces, in what is often called the pressure-cooker environment of prison. In many nations there are political prisoners.

Regardless of the social forces, of national character or of politics, going to prison is, for each convict, a personal experience.

From *Times* correspondents in foreign nations, these accounts tell what men find waiting for them when the local justice orders them to prison.

ITALY

An American psychologist confined to Rome's Regina Coeli prison — the name means "Queen of Heaven"—reported:

"I was kept in isolation from Wednesday to Saturday. A bed, a bucket, jug of water, plate, spoon. Then I was put in a cell with an Italian bicycle runner and a Yugoslavian accordion player. Let us say I was not feeling as relaxed as Perry Como.

"But the first thing, the Yugoslav handed me a glass of wine. Then a fried egg, then a cigaret, and finally we played chess.

"I began to realize that Italian jails were not what I had expected. I have never witnessed any form of violence. Everybody is friendly. Everyone helps everybody else. Everything is shared. Prisoners and guards alike are polite. There is a good deal of mutual respect.

"Everything is primitive compared to American standards. All wastes end up in two buckets, which get emptied twice a day. We get a hot shower once a week. I while away the time reading and writing and learning Italian.

"I believe Regina Coeli is better than the prisons many people manage to create for themselves in the outside world."

Italy's more than 12,000 prison inmates are treated with much permissiveness. There are no hard-core prisoners and no maximum security facilities. Prisoners rarely emerge with resentment toward society.

ISRAEL

"I have no complaints about Ramla," said Moshe, a typical "asur"—jailbird—in Ramla Maximum Security Prison in Israel. "Except," he added, gesturing around him, "other than the fact I'm in it."

Moshe, born in Israel and now in his early 20s, is a persistent if not habitual petty larcenist and thief. He is serving a 21-month term after five convictions, making him one of 5,200 prisoners in the 15 prisons of the Israeli Prison System.

Ramla, like many of the nation's prisons, is a former police post from the old British Mandate era. It is two stories high, enclosed by six-foot walls and barbed-wire aprons, and overlooked by six towers manned by guards with sub-machine guns.

Israel has two types of prisoner: Israeli criminals like Moshe and Arab prisoners, 16% of them guerrillas—like Mohammed, 40, who is serving a two-year sentence for smuggling explosive.

Mohammed works in the Ramla laundry. Is he being treated fairly?

"Yes," said Mohammed. How does he like Ramla? "Conditions are tolerable." Is there violence? On one occasion, yes: Gaza Arabs brawled, not with Israelis, but with Fatah guerrillas from Palestine.

Israel assumed control of six prisons after the 1967 six-day war, one in the Gaza Strip and five others on the West Bank of the Jordan. Even Arabs have lauded the Israeli prison system, which is administered by Prison Commissioner Ayre Nir.

Nir himself served time in a British prison as a member of the Jewish underground prior to Israel's independence. He is acting commissioner because, he laments, "they cannot find anyone else to take this post." He wants to go back to his job with the national police force.

Overcrowding and understaffing (the 1,500 staffers make 10% less than the average Israeli) are Nir's biggest problems. But he treats his guests as "men, rather than criminals," and says he knows each one of them by name.

Those who are trusted, as is Ramla's young Moshe, get special favors. He shook hands with his guards one weekend this month and went home on a 48-hour pass. As he walked out of the double-gated prison yard toward the Tel Aviv road he smiled at the guards, "Shalom," he said.

BRITAIN

On Aug. 13, 1964, the last British criminal to be executed died by hanging. An English "lag" (slang for convict), at the worst, he went to a place like Parkhurst or Albany, the top security prisons on the Isle of Wight, as an "A" class prisoner—one whose escape could be dangerous to the state.

"It would be a lot cheaper to bury us in an allotment somewhere," wrote a class A inmate in a petition smuggled out of the Albany prison, "because the results are about the same. We are slowly but surely becoming vegetables."

"Where I've written that long-term prisoners are targets for discrimination and victimization, I've actually phrased it pretty lightly. Because the staff here, including all the very higher officials, are quite hostile toward us all . . ."

A and B prisoners (class B prisoners are those "for whom escape must be made very difficult") are being dispersed in smaller groups around the eight federal prisons in Great Britain to prevent a high concentration of dangerous prisoners.

Britain began creating tough maximum security facilities in 1964. The A and B prisoners inside are allowed a half-hour visit every two months, can be placed in solitary up to four weeks and are heavily guarded. Men with dogs patrol outside the maximum security units.

For prisoners in the C and D classifications life is better. A man can get a third of his time reduced by good behavior. Guards mingle with the prisoners, unarmed except for billy clubs hidden under their uniforms. "We try not to use or show force," one official said.

JAPAN

If it were not for a tall wall around some of the buildings, the 81-acre Fuchu Prison in a Tokyo suburb could pass for one of Japan's factory-dormitory complexes. In the dormitory rooms the floors are of polished wood, on which nine prisoners spread mattresses at lights out. In the corner of each cell is an enclosed toilet.

Lawns and rose bushes surround the dormitories, and the men in them hurry to work (7 a.m. to 4:35 p.m., with two breaks and a 40-minute lunch) wearing the same factory clothes men wear in Japan's industrial plants.

Prisoners call their guards "Oyajii-

San," an informal version of "father." All guards pass civil service tests. All prisoners start life in Fuchu on the same level: as fourth-grade prisoners.

Privileges are few for the men in the fourth grade, but anyone, even a murderer, can advance up to first grade, entitling him to unlimited visitation privileges, use of recreation rooms in evenings, and weekly movies.

Conditions are spartan. There is no smoking. Food is mostly barley and rice, with fish at suppertime. Meat is never served. There is no heat in the dormitories, even in the subfreezing winter months.

Yet neither the modern penal system nor the harsh conditions keep guests at Fuchu—and Japan's other 18 maximum security prisons—from becoming a "ruihansha," a repeat offender. The death penalty is still in effect, with more than 70 men now awaiting hanging. Despite it, crime continues.

Where do Japan's ruihansha come from?

Nearly 30% are members of Japan's underworld gangs. Others are mentally incapable of finding a place in the nation's booming economy: the average IQ is 81.2 in Japanese prisons, and 22% of the inmates are classified as near-psychopaths. One often-made complaint of Japanese prisoners:

"Prisons are no places to build a man's character."

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MEXICO

Although he had tried to escape at least twice, Joel David Kaplan, a New Yorker serving 28 years, still had the run of Santa Marta Acatilla Prison on the outskirts of Mexico City.

He had access to a telephone, and was visited frequently by friends with whom he talked privately, unobserved, and in physical contact with his visitors.

Kaplan was serving time for murder, but he wasn't in Mexico's only real maximum security prison: a federal authority on Isla Maria, 70 miles west of Tepic in the Pacific Ocean, where the chief deterrent to escape are sharks in the offshore waters.

The conditions under which he was serving his time facilitated Kaplan's celebrated departure from Acatilla: a helicopter touched down in the prison yard and, without interference, removed Kaplan and a second man.

There have been hints of corruption in Kaplan's departure and, indeed, corruption is common in Mexico's free-wheeling, easy-going prison system. Prisoners with money can finance anything from an easy life to escape.

Quarters range from earth-floored, sunless cells for the poor to comfortable apartments built inside the walls for the rich. The "peni" or "interno" with money can acquire weapons, women, liquor, narcotics. There are no revolts, and no rehabilitation or work programs.

"Why," asked Dr. Alfonso Quiroz Cuaron, one of Latin America's top penologists, "should the inmates revolt when they live better than at home?"

SOUTH AMERICA

If he goes to prison, Argentina's Juan Perez (the Joe Doaks of South America) may find himself in a modern federal prison admired by the world's penologists as a model institution.

But, if he pays his debt to Bolivian justice, another Juan Perez may find himself in a jungle camp in the upper Amazon Basin, as far up the river as a convict can be sent—and with piranhas in the river.

Argentina has guards graduated from the National Penitentiary School, temporary leaves for "exemplary" prisoners, parole terms set by the judges who sentenced the prisoner, examinations by psychiatrists, psychologists and sociologists and sports including soccer, volley ball and swimming.

In Bolivia, by contrast, things are simpler. The jungle camps are lightly guarded; the impenetrable jungle is itself a maximum security restraint. Conjugal visits by wives and sweethearts are allowed. If anyone escapes, authorities can arrest one or more members of the escapee's family and hold them until the culprit is recaptured or surrenders.

The other nations which share the headwaters of the Amazon also use its remoteness as a place to store wrongdoers. The sophistication of penology techniques varies in South America, as can be expected, with the sophistication of the imprisoning nation.

Just across the Rio de la Plata from Argentina's Buenos Aires lies the small but highly advanced nation of Uruguay, with a modern penal system known for humane treatment of prisoners unsurpassed elsewhere in Latin America.

Numerous laws protect the prisoners. When men arrested as Tupamaro terrorists complained of police brutality, the gravest instance a congressional investigating committee discovered was that "lunch wasn't served on time."

It was from Montevideo's Punta Carretas federal prison that 111 Tupamaro leaders tunneled to freedom early this month.

RUSSIA

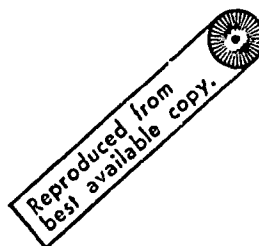
"In prison," wrote Russian writer and ex-prisoner Anatoly Marchenko, "you won't find a single healthy man, except perhaps for newcomers, and they don't last long . . . It is impossible to convey the essence of it, this torture by starvation . . . For many, hunger proves an insuperable ordeal."

For a lump of sugar or a few more ounces of black bread, Marchenko wrote, men turn informers, betraying their fellow inmates. With hun-

ger, submachine guns, dogs and beatings, the Russian government maintains the world's tightest discipline on what is believed to be the world's largest body of prisoners.

A Soviet official, R. Nishanov, expressed in 1969 the government's views on why compulsion was important in "the struggle for reforming the persons who commit socially dangerous crimes":

"Lenin pointed out that all weakness, all hesitation and all sentimentality in this field would be a great crime against socialism."





TWIST—Devil's Island, France's dreaded penal colony off the coast of South America, was closed in 1953 and now is a resort.

Times photo

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FRANCE

The prisoner who goes to a French penitentiary will find:

Short terms: The average three to four years.

No attempt at rehabilitation. No one tries to change him.

No reforms. The last French prison reform: closing Devil's Island in 1953.

No riots. Businesslike guards hold a tight lid on prisons. Police let two escapees kill a nurse and a guard in Clairvaux last week rather than negotiate demands; the men were recaptured.

And, chances are, the average French prisoner would return. Recidivism is relatively rare in France.

It may have something to do with prison conditions generously described as spartan.

Provincial prisons are often one time monasteries or convents. Plumbing is a pot made available twice a day; prisoners must learn precise control of bodily functions. Exercise yards are pie-slice niches big enough for only a score of prisoners at a time. There is no work to do.

"Prisons," according to the French penology, "are places of incarceration, not rehabilitation."

Political prisoners are separated from others, under maximum security control, and, usually, somewhat better living conditions. Algerians, the largest majority within the penitentiary system, are kept strictly segregated.

GERMANY

A West German sentenced to prison soon learns that running prisons, like so many Germanic endeavors, is a highly regulated science.

The individual states (Länders) have their own prisons, but the penal code is federal. The accent is on reform. The prison population is dropping. Prisons are not crowded. Rehabilitation is required. Every one works.

Great care is taken to put a prisoner — the knatsbruder or cell brother—in the type of facility best suited to him. There are 21 prisons, few of them with maximum security facilities. Efforts are made to incarcerate a man not where he was arrested but near his home, so he can be close to his family—and the community he will one day rejoin.

Being a prison guard has the status of an official and, in West Germany, the job has a security many persons seek. There is little danger from prisoners; controls are too strict, the inmates too respectful of authority. Among the privileges they can lose for a serious infraction: the right to have an aquarium—and a whittling knife.

CANADA

The widespread differences between the state prison systems of the United States don't exist in the provinces of Canada. The reason: all persons convicted of a sentence of more than two years go to a nationally run institution.

And within this federal framework changes are being studied—changes which may affect the lives of the more than 7,000 inmates in Canada's 32 prisons.

Eight of them are maximum security prisons. The largest contains 500 men, the smallest 75.

"We believe that the 150-inmate prison is the ideal," said Paul A. Faguy, Canada's commissioner of penitentiaries.

Canadian prisoners already live under conditions better than nearly all of the Americans who got into trouble on the south side of the border.

Prisoners can sit with their visitors, touch each other, kiss. There is a guard on duty in the visiting room, but he isn't supposed to monitor conversations.

And so it goes in the prisons of the world. The differences are there, and so are the similarities. Are there lessons to be learned? Could the United States successfully adopt the Canadian system of all federal prisons, for instance?

Foreign wardens are wary of offering advice to U.S. officials. Every warden, they know, is a prisoner, too—prisoner of his own system.

And who knows which system is best?

Prisons: The Way to Reform

ATTICA is certainly not the worst of the 4,770 American prisons and jails. It has too much competition. But it is, nonetheless, fairly typical of a penal system that almost everyone agrees is a disgrace. Almost everyone, that is, but Vice President Spiro Agnew, who, in a spasm of Podsnappery, argued on the Op-Ed page of the *New York Times* last week that "our penal system remains among the most humane and advanced in the world." By and large, the penologists—not to mention the prisoners and ex-convicts—would go along with Senator Edmund Muskie, who told the Governors Conference in Puerto Rico that the prisons are "monstrous, inhuman dungeons, schools for crime and centers for sexual abuse."

The range of quality in American prisons is wide. At Louisiana's scabrous New Orleans Parish Prison, six men at a time are crammed into a 7½-ft. by 14-ft. cell. Most are unsentenced prisoners awaiting trial. They exercise one hour every week and spend much of the rest of their time fighting off roaches, rats and homosexual rapists. "A good day," says one prisoner, "is when I get up, have three squares and don't get wounded or raped."

At the opposite extreme is the Middlesex County House of Correction in Massachusetts. Since he took over two years ago, County Sheriff John Buckley has turned the chapel into a gym, encouraged a black studies program (5% of the 300 inmates are black, as are 5% of the guards), moved his office into the prison and learned almost all his prisoners' first names. He hired two lawyers to give the inmates legal advice and turned the sheriff's house over for inmate use, including overnight visits with families.

Between the two poles is a vast, hidden world, a nonsystem of isolated societies with more or less of the totalitarian qualities evident aboard the *Neversink* in Melville's *White Jacket*. With some encouraging exceptions, the principal distinction of the prisons is failure. More than \$1 billion a year is spent to produce results that would swiftly doom any other enterprise.

Eighteenth century Quakers introduced the American concept of prisons as a humane alternative to mutilation and other corporal punishments. Today the presumed goals of prisons are various, and sometimes they conflict. The aims are to wreak society's vengeance on a criminal, to deter other men from violating the law, to rehabilitate a prisoner so that he is fit to return to the open world. Yet far too many institutions make no effort to rehabilitate; they are simply zoos for human animals that society wants out of the way. As a result, criminals are thrown into precisely the environment guaranteed to ensure they will emerge bru-

talized, more criminally expert and less fit to live lawfully than when they entered. A bleak spirit of damnation hides criminals behind walls, cancels their identities, meanwhile anticipating some moral regeneration and repentance.

Some experts simply despair of ever resolving the dilemma. Says Dr. E. Kim Nelson, director of the School of Public Administration at the University of Southern California: "The idea of correcting anyone in prison is bankrupt. You can't mix punishment and rehabilitation. Prisons should be used for punishment." Enough liberal, enlightened solutions have failed in many fields to make this a rather tempting thought. Besides, the arithmetic of the situation is depressing. Fully 95% of all inmates in the nation's jails will eventually be released. If past patterns are followed, 40% of these will be repeaters, returning to prison for other crimes.

But it can also be argued that rehabilitation has not failed, rather it has not been adequately tried. This view is supported by many isolated successes. The rate of recidivism is down in many areas. Surprisingly, the absolute number of Americans in prison has been declining in the past ten years, principally because of broadened parole and probation programs. Yet the social damage still wrought by prisons that merely train professional criminals remains an overwhelming argument for reform.

Professionals—criminologists, sociologists, penologists and many judges and police chiefs—are nearly unanimous about what the approach should be:

REFORM THE NATION'S CRIMINAL LAWS. Studies indicate there are 6,000,000 non-traffic arrests of adults annually in the U.S. Almost half of those arrests are for drunkenness, disorderly conduct, vagrancy, gambling and minor morals charges. If the laws under which these arrests are made were eliminated, conclude Authors Norval Morris and Gordon Hawkins in *The Honest Politician's Guide to Crime Control*, "the consequent reduction of pressure on police, courts and correctional services would have a massive impact on the criminal justice system." It would free police to concentrate on serious crimes, unclog the courts and ease the overcrowded conditions in the nation's prisons.

REPLACE LOCAL AND COUNTY JAILS WITH REGIONAL CORRECTION CENTERS. Once arrested and charged, a defendant is either released on bond or his own recognizance, or he is sent to jail to await trial. A defendant normally faces a lengthy wait, especially traumatic for a first offender, spending months or even years in jail with seasoned criminals, perhaps being corrupted even before he is judged innocent or guilty. Authorities should, instead of locking up prisoners indiscriminately in jails, provide modern correction centers, with diagnostic services, staffed by